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ABSTRACT

This study is concerned with the acquisition of social awareness of language differences in preschool children, particularly their awareness of the differences between black and standard English (BE and SE). Awareness is defined as a type of sociolinguistic perception involving three related abilities: (1) discrimination (the ability to discriminate between BE and SE solely on the basis of linguistic variables), (2) categorization (the ability to categorize people according to race on the basis of their speech), and (3) attitude (the expression of attitudes and value judgments vis-a-vis representative speakers of each variety). Three tasks were constructed to investigate these three aspects. The effects of group, age, and sex were also examined. The children were drawn from two contrasting populations: sample A consisted of 90 upper middle class urban/suburban white children attending a private nursery school and a private day school kindergarten; sample B comprised 46 lower class semi-rural black children in a public day care center and a public kindergarten. The findings revealed that preschool children do discriminate, categorize and express specific attitudes toward BE and SE. In all tasks, age and group were the most significant variables. (Author/CFM)

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children and black english

by Marilyn S. Rosenthal

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For Anne, John, and Jack

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PREFACE

The subject of black English, a topic of scholarly endeavor among linguists, psychologists, and sociologists, has become in the last few years a controversial subject among many segments of the general public. Thus, in researching this study, I have had to deal not only with the data, but often with the emotional reaction that this topic elicits.

In particular, it was extremely difficult to find four different schools in the Washington D.C. metropolitan area that would be willing to grant permission to do the research for this study. Often the response of administrators was "It looks like interesting and important research, but the topic is too hot. I don't want to get in trouble with the people I have to answer to." Fortunately, there were four schools interested enough in the scholarly pursuit to open their doors, but even then the price asked for this permission was that the schools should remain nameless. I am grateful to the administrators of these four schools, and I thank them silently.

The findings of this study present facts that we as a society would often prefer to ignore: namely, that young children, both black and white, have already become socialized to discriminate black English from standard English; that they, as do adults in our society, identify people according to race on the basis of their speech; and that they, as adults also do, have already formed attitudes towards speakers of black English (often pejorative) as well as toward speakers of standard English. This study points out that very young children are indeed aware of language differences--a fact that we as researchers, teachers, and parents have previously not been aware of.

Many people have contributed to this study in a variety of ways, and I would like to express my gratitude for their help. Ralph Fasold, Roger Shuy, and James Alatis of Georgetown University provided support and encouragement at all stages of the research and writing of the original dissertation on which this study is based. Rosemary Barse, Gladys Stern, B. J. Seabury, Muriel Lezak, Janet Weaver and Larry Suter provided many helpful suggestions about data collection. Kenneth Jones and Steven Schecter put the magic in the Magic Boxes with their excellent voicing of the prerecorded tapes. Joan Baratz and William Stewart spent endless hours discussing the data with me and offered insightful comments and criticism. Sophia Behrens--truly an editor's editor--with much patience translated statistics and linguistics into English.

Ann Rosenthal, my daughter, provided the original impetus for this study when she, at age four, expressed to me her own awareness of language differences. Her older brother, John, provided expert advice on how kids think and played the role of practice subject. Jack Rosenthal, my husband, provided constant support, demographic advice, and a very personal contribution to linguistics.

M.R.

INTRODUCTION

The question of perception of class and ethnic differences through the medium of language has become one of growing interest and importance. People constantly make judgments about others on the basis of speech. Often such judgments are not only pejorative, but potentially damaging. Adults in our society have established general norms of speech correctness for themselves and for others. Speakers who do not conform to these norms may be treated harshly. If their speech contains certain features that are different from mainstream English, they are often penalized. This happens at all levels; the punishment for speech variety may be social ostracization, difficulty in getting good grades from a teacher, or problems in obtaining a particular job.

While we are aware that adults make such judgments based on their perceptions of language differences, we know relatively little about when such perceptions and attitudes develop in young children. It is important to investigate when young children become socialized into the process of identifying ethnic, social, or racial characteristics of others on the basis of certain speech variables and whether they, too, make pejorative judgments about themselves as well as others on this same basis.

This study is concerned with the acquisition of such sociolinguistic perception or linguistic awareness in very young children (ages three through five). It deals particularly with their awareness of the differences between black English (BE) and standard English (SE). Its conclusions have implications for bilingual programs as well as for English language arts programs.

The results of this study should help us answer the following questions:

- When do children recognize linguistic differences between two languages?
- When do children recognize linguistic differences between two varieties of the same language?
- Do children perceive grammatical differences more easily than phonological differences?
- Do children between the ages of three and six identify ethnic and racial stereotypes through the medium of language?
- Is language awareness concomitant with certain stages of language acquisition?
- Is language awareness a part of communicative competence?
- Is the sex of the listener an important factor in language awareness?
- Should we teach language attitudes to children as if they had a clean attitudinal slate, or must we address ourselves instead to those attitudes that they have already formed?

This study deals with various aspects of language awareness--a significant area of concern which spans the social dialect and child language acquisition literature.

The Literature

Much of the social dialect literature has provided models for the investigation of sociolinguistic awareness, particularly in terms of attitude and speech identification. Although these studies have been enlightening and have provided the impetus for investigating the attitudes of preschool children toward language differences, they have generally addressed themselves to adults and older children. They have also used scales of measurement that can not necessarily be applied to the referent system of young children.

It is a tenet among many sociolinguists that children do not become aware of dialect differences until puberty. Labov (1965) considers social perception the third stage in the acquisition of spoken English:

> The third stage (social perception) begins with early adolescence, as the child begins to come into wider contact with the adult world. The social significance of the dialect characteristics of his friends becomes gradually apparent to him as he becomes exposed to other speech forms, even while he himself is still confined to the single style of his own vernacular (1965:91).

It has been demonstrated that adults and older children can identify an individual's social class and/or race on the basis of certain stigmatized features of the language variety spoken. Shuy, Baratz and Wolfram (1969) included 286 sixth graders in their analysis of sociolinguistic factors in speech identification. They found that even at this level children can identify black speakers 79.7 percent of the time and white speakers 74.3 percent of the time. Baratz (1969), in a study utilizing sentence repetition tests and speech identification, established the fact that third graders can perceive racial differences in speech.

In addition to such investigations of speech identification, there have been numerous studies which have demonstrated that adults and older children make pejorative evaluations about an individual whose dialect may have certain variables. In order to elicit stereotyped attitudes toward social dialects, some of these have employed Osgood-type semantic differential scales comparing polar adjectives (Shuy, Baratz and Wolfram, 1969; Tucker and Lambert, 1967; Bouchard-Ryan, 1969; Williams, 1973). Shuy (1970) points out that middle class sixth graders use the differential scale as ably as eleventh graders or adults.

While the social dialect literature has not dealt with sociolinguistic awareness from the viewpoint of its acquisition and development in young children, the reverse situation exists in the child language acquisition literature. It provides research relating to the acquisition and development of language in young children, but it has not treated in a systematic way the development of sociolinguistic awareness.

Much of the child language acquisition research has involved longitudinal studies of linguistic development in the young child (Brown, Cazden and

Bellugi, 1968; Miller and Ervin, 1964; McNeill, 1970). Piaget, Lenneberg, and Menyuk have attempted to establish developmental schedules of language acquisition. Menyuk (1971) cites the period from two to five as that during which children apply their representational ability (defined as the ability to differentiate signifiers from significates) to an increasingly larger range of phenomena. It is during this period, and well before the end of it, she says, that children achieve their basic mastery of syntax.

It should be obvious that during this period and slightly beyond it, children are also developing sociolinguistic perceptions of their own variety of language as well as of others'. Shatz and Gelman (1973) provide an excellent example of the former type of perception. In their study, they show that middle and upper middle class four-year-olds shift the complexity, style, and sentence length of their responses when talking to adults, to two-year-olds, and to their peers.

Studies in the child language acquisition literature that have treated dialect differences have generally described how the language production of lower income blacks differs from that of middle income whites at various stages of acquisition. Some investigators have examined the comprehension ability of children of various socioeconomic classes and different races (Eisenberg, Berlin, Dill and Frank, 1968; Osser, Wang and Zaid, 1969). However, in these studies comprehension ability was related to intelligibility of particular linguistic utterances rather than to the direct measurement of children's attitudes, even though it is probable that inability to comprehend the "other dialect" could be related to attitudes.

Cazden has related Hymes' (1971) concept of "communicative competence" to the area of first language acquisition:

> Communicative competence has two aspects. It includes both knowledge of linguistics (in the more usual and narrow sense of syntax, phonology and semantics) and knowledge of the social world and of rules for using language in that world so that speech is appropriate as well as grammatical and creative within both linguistic and sociolinguistic rules. Together, these aspects of communicative competence are realized in the child's actual speech behavior or performance. This performance includes both speaking and comprehending (1972:3).

The Present Study

The existing literature in both social dialect studies and child language acquisition has not yet adequately accounted for the development of social awareness of language differences in young children. It is suggested here, based on the findings of the present study of 136 preschool children, that social awareness of language differences develops between the ages of three and six, that its beginnings occur within the major developmental period of the language acquisition process, and that the concept of communicative competence must be expanded beyond language use to include sociolinguistic perceptions of language varieties as a major subcategory.

The following chapters will present a detailed discussion of children's awareness of language differences, particularly with reference to black

English and standard English. Chapter I, an overview of the study, delineates three aspects of language awareness--linguistic discrimination, speech categorization, and language attitudes. Chapters II, III, and IV deal individually with each of these aspects of language awareness. Chapter II discusses children's ability to discriminate discrete linguistic features. Chapter III deals with children's ability to identify speech according to ethnicity. Chapter IV discusses children's attitudes toward black and standard English. Chapter V presents a summary of the study and a discussion of its implications.

I. AN OVERVIEW OF THE EXPERIMENT

The Three Aspects of Language Awareness

In the present study, language awareness was subdivided into three areas--discrimination, categorization, and attitude preference. Discrimination was defined as the ability to distinguish between black and standard English solely on the basis of the linguistic variables involved. Categorization was defined as the ability to categorize speakers according to racial stereotypes on the basis of the variety of English used (speech identification). Attitude preference referred to the expression of attitudes and value judgments toward representative speakers of each variety of English. Three tasks were constructed for the purpose of determining whether preschool children discriminate, categorize, and express specific attitudes toward black and standard English. The effects of group, age, and sex on these aspects of language awareness were also examined.

The two varieties of English used in this study were black English and standard English as spoken in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area. Black English (also referred to as vernacular black English or, previously, Negro dialect) refers specifically to that socially stigmatized variety of English used generally by poor, lower class blacks. It has repeatedly been stressed in the literature that black English is not used by all blacks. Thus, the term "black English" is somewhat misleading. However, since it is widely used, it shall be used here, but with Fasold and Wolfram's restrictive definition, originally used with the term "Negro dialect":

> Negro dialect [BE] shares many features with other kinds of English. Its distinctiveness, however, lies in the fact that it has a number of pronunciation and grammatical features which are not shared by other dialects....Negro dialect [BE]...is a cohesive linguistic system which is substantially different from standard American English dialects. It is spoken by some, though not all, Negroes, particularly those of the lower socio-economic classes (1970:41-42).

The Subjects

A total of 136 monolingual children between the ages of 3:0 and 5:11 were interviewed. The children were chosen from two strikingly different populations. Although Samples A and B were both drawn from the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) of Washington, D.C., they were not part of the same community.

Sample A consisted of 90 upper middle class urban/suburban white children attending a private nursery school and a private day school kindergarten within the same community. There were 30 children (15 boys and 15 girls) in each age cohort of three-, four-, and five-year-olds.

Sample B consisted of 46 lower class semi-rural black children in a public day care center and a public kindergarten within the same community. In Sample B there were 30 children in the five-year-old cohort (15 boys and

15 girls). However, only ten four-year-olds (six boys and four girls) and six three-year-olds (three boys and three girls) were available for the study.[1]

One reason for the choice of such polar groups was that it would enable us to define the outermost ends of the continuum of the developmental process of language awareness in young children,--i.e., we would be able to find out when young whites at one socioeconomic extreme and young blacks at the other begin to develop sociolinguistic perceptions of language differences. Another factor in the selection of these populations was the desire to discover what similarities there might be within the developmental stages of language awareness. It takes little imagination to predict gross differences between the two groups, one advantaged and the other decidedly disadvantaged. However, the similarities would be even more interesting and important in a study of language awareness in children. A third reason for the choice was that it would enable us to measure the attitudes of two diverse dialect groups. It was felt that if each group spoke only one of the varieties of English involved, it might be possible to measure their perceptions and attitudes vis-a-vis the speakers of the "other variety" of English.

Table 1 illustrates the vast differences between the two populations with regard to select socioeconomic characteristics such as income, education,

TABLE 1.--Select Washington, D.C. SMSA socioeconomic characteristics

Characteristics	Tract 2 (Sample B, Black)	Total Blacks in SMSA	Total SMSA (Black & White)	Tract 1 (Sample A, White)
Median family income	$5,413	$8,746	$12,933	$23,929
Median school years completed (persons over 25)	8.2	11.4	12.6	14.9
Families below poverty level	39.6%	14.6%	6.1%	3.0%
Female-headed households	21.0%	19.0%	12.0%	16.0%
Occupations of employed men				
Professional	0.0%	12.0%	25.1%	43.9%
Clerical	2.7%	27.5%	26.4%	20.2%
Laborers	14.7%	6.7%	2.9%	0.9%
Occupations of employed women				
Domestic workers	59.0%	10.0%	4.1%	6.0%*

Source: 1970 Census Tables, pp. 2-6.

*Includes live-in domestic workers.

and occupation. Sample A falls within Census Tract 1 and Sample B falls within Tract 2. Table 1 also shows the extreme contrasts between the two samples in comparison with the total black population in the SMSA as well as with the total SMSA.

Table 2 deals specifically with the selected samples themselves and compares the education and occupation of the subjects' parents.[2] Again, the extremes are apparent. The occupation types for Sample A are highly skewed with regard to the figures for the nation as a whole. Of the total number of parents (180) in Sample A, 135 were employed, and 96 percent of these were professionals. This compares with a figure of 15 percent for the country as a whole in 1970. Within specific professions, the proportions are even more striking. For example, among all employed men in the U.S. in 1970, only .5 percent (one-half of one percent) were lawyers or judges. Among the parents in Sample A, 38 percent of the fathers and six percent of the

TABLE 2.--Select socioeconomic characteristics of subjects' parents

Characteristics	Sample A		Sample B	
	Fathers N=90	Mothers N=90	Fathers N=30	Mothers N=46
Mean years of schooling	18.8	16.8	8.9	10.0
Degree types				
B.A.	22.0%	54.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Graduate degrees	77.0%	37.0%	0.0%	0.0%
M.A.	1.0%	26.0%	0.0%	0.0%
LL.B., J.D.	38.0%	.5%	0.0%	0.0%
Ph.D.	14.0%	.3%	0.0%	0.0%
M.D.	.4%	.2%	0.0%	0.0%
M.D. + specialty	.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Total employed	100.0%	61.0%	79.0%*	15.0%
Occupations of employed				
Professional	96.0%	89.0%	0.0%	14.0%
Managerial	4.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Clerical	0.0%	11.0%	13.0%	29.0%
Operatives	0.0%	0.0%	30.0%	0.0%
Laborers & farm workers	0.0%	0.0%	52.0%	0.0%
Service workers	0.0%	0.0%	4.0%	57.0%
Female-headed households	0		35.0%	
Welfare recipient households	0		57.0%	

Note: Totals may not add because of rounding.

*Only 63 percent (30) fathers were reported as living in the home.

mothers were lawyers. Other professions in Sample A show similar skewing. Although the professions are not specifically listed in Table 2, it is interesting to note that teachers represented the single largest group of professional mothers (17.7 percent). In Sample B, there were no professional fathers; the highest ranking job classification for the fathers was clerical. More than half of the subjects' fathers were farmers or farm laborers, and 30 percent fell into the category the Census Bureau identifies as "operatives" (truck drivers and construction equipment drivers). It is also interesting to note that only seven mothers (15 percent) were employed in Sample B as opposed to 61 percent in Sample A. Of the employed mothers in Sample B, only one--a nurse's aide--was classified as a professional under Census ratings. Two held clerical jobs, and four were food service workers or domestics.

The Three Tasks

Three tasks were constructed to investigate the three aspects of language awareness delineated above.

- Task I measured the ability of children to discriminate linguistic variables between black and standard English.
- Task II measured their ability to categorize people on the basis of the variety of language used.
- Task III measured children's attitudes and value judgments toward the two varieties, without any overt reference to racial stereotypes.

Task I

Task I consisted of five subtasks, each concerned with discrete discriminations: (a) the Pictorial Similarities and Differences section of the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale (1960 revision, Form LM), which measured same/different discriminations on the concrete level of pictures; (b) German-English, constructed to measure same/different discriminations between sentence pairs in two languages; (c) Grammar, and (d) Phonology, designed to measure grammatical or phonological differences between sentence pairs in black English and/or standard English; and (e) Right/Wrong, which attempted to establish--solely on the basis of the linguistic variables involved--the presence (or absence) of evaluative concepts concerning BE versus SE.

These first four subtasks measured only the perception of sameness versus difference on a continuum of types of discrimination from grossest (on the concrete level of choosing between two pictures) to finest (on the abstract level of making discriminations between two varieties of the same language). They included no evaluative judgments. This was not the case with the fifth subtask (Right/Wrong), which used sentences from the Grammar and Phonology subtasks, although this time not in pairs.

The sentences involving BE and SE in the last three subtasks of Task I were all recorded by one bidialectal 17-year-old black male who did not demonstrate any differences in vocal quality or intonation between the BE and SE sentences, although these contrasts are often very real cues in natural

language situations. This was done in order to pinpoint the basis of the children's discriminations in Task I. The only differences between the BE and SE sentence pairs were in their grammatical or phonological (segmental) features. It was reasonably assumed, then, that discriminations between the sentences were made solely on the basis of these particular grammatical or phonological features.

Task II

Task II measured children's ability to categorize people by race on the basis of their speech. This task used natural prerecorded speech samples of each variety, including the additional characteristic cues of vocal quality and intonation that occur in reality when people identify speech. BE was represented by recordings of two lower class black children (one male and one female) taken from Fasold's Washington dialect study of BE (1972). SE was represented by the author's children (one male and one female). Each of the four children was recorded twice in a type of "guise effect" (Lambert et al., 1960).[3]

The subjects were asked to listen to each speech sample and were then shown a 5" x 8" index card containing photographs of either one black and one white girl, or one black and one white boy. They were asked to guess which person they thought was talking. The children were not asked to determine the sex of the speakers. The order of boys and girls on the index cards was randomized as was the order of black and white figures.

Task III

Task III measured children's attitudes and evaluations of the two varieties of English through the use of two identical cardboard boxes (the "Magic Boxes"), which had whimsical red faces with blue ears and noses and were devoid of any racial references. (See Figures 14 and 15, p. 42.) Each Magic Box had a cassette recorder hidden inside, one with prerecorded SE and one with prerecorded BE. Each recording was essentially the same. The subjects were told to listen to the boxes "speak" and were then asked a series of attitude questions about each box. Subjects were asked to take a present from or give a present to the Magic Box of their choice.

The three tasks treated three different aspects of language awareness. They were designed to determine whether or not each is a necessary or sufficient condition for the other to take place. That is, if children express attitudes toward BE or SE, does it necessarily mean that they can classify people who speak each variety and that they can discriminate the actual linguistic features of each variety?

The Interview Session

Each interview session lasted approximately 30 minutes, depending upon the age and attention span of the subjects. The three-year-olds took longer than the five-year-olds. As an incentive, candies were given to the children after each subtask. The subtasks were called "games," and the subject would earn a candy after completion of each. The subtasks involving taking and giving presents from and to the Magic Boxes were presented first and

last during the interview session. The tasks and subtasks were presented in the following order:

1. The Magic Boxes--Taking Present subtask (Task III)
2. The Stanford-Binet subtask (Task I)
3. The German-English subtask (Task I)
4. The Grammar subtask (Task I)
5. The Phonology subtask (Task I)
6. Categorization (Task II)
7. The Right/Wrong subtask (Task I)
8. The Magic Boxes--Giving Present subtask (Task III)

In the chapters that follow, each task will be described in detail along with the significance of its results and its relationship to the other aspects of language awareness.

II. TASK ONE: DISCRIMINATION

Task I was designed to investigate same/different discrimination ability of the children and consisted of five subtasks which provided a continuum of types of discrimination from the grossest (on the picture level) to the finest (on the phonological feature level) of the two varieties of English concerned.

Task I measured the ability to discriminate discrete features. The nature of this task pointed up the most obvious differences between the two samples, since it drew on those perceptual abilities that children like those in Sample A generally acquire easily and early, and those in Sample B acquire later. It is not surprising, then, that there were significant differences between the two samples in every subtask in Task I. However, in a study that attempts to define the outermost boundaries of language awareness, it is important to regard the discriminations of Task I as only one aspect of this awareness and to analyze the similarities as well as the differences between the two samples. While Task I indicated some similarities between the two groups, there were more similarities between them with regard to speech categorization and attitudes (Tasks II and III).

All children in both samples and at all age levels performed more accurately on the Stanford-Binet than on the German-English subtask, and their overall accuracy was higher on the German-English subtask than on the Grammar or the Phonology subtasks. This level of descending accuracy is illustrated in Table 3 (p. 13) and corresponds with an increasing level of difficulty for each subtask. We can say that discriminations for all children are easier on the picture level than they are on the verbal level and that on the verbal level, discriminations between two languages appear to be less difficult for all children than those between two varieties of the same language.

Table 3 presents the percentages of accuracy for the samples and the age cohorts within each sample for all subtasks in Task I. It also illustrates the significant variations[4] between cohorts for all subtasks. It should be noted that when results are stated as statistically significant in this study, they are significant at the .05 level of confidence unless otherwise stated.

The Stanford-Binet Subtask

The purpose of this first subtask was to determine if preschool children are able to perceive sameness and difference, a type of perception that was required in terms of language in the other subtasks of Task I. The Stanford-Binet Pictorial Similarities and Differences test of the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale (Form LM, 1960) provides a standardized measure of same/different perceptions in preschool children. Each of ten frames contains two pictures which are either the same or different. The following standardized test directions from the Stanford-Binet were used in this study:

Interviewer: (pointing to a) See these two trees?
They are just alike, aren't they? Just the same.

(pointing to b) But these two aren't alike.
One is round and one is square.

(pointing to 1) Now look at these two.
Are they alike? Are they the same?

(pointing to 2) And these? Are they alike?
Are they the same?

(Terman 1960:82).

These instructions are interesting and pertinent from a linguistic point of view. The word "different" is never used. The terms "alike" or "same" are used instead, even when the directions have to be phrased in the negative (e.g., "...these two aren't alike"). It was evident from pilot research in the present study that although the younger children (the three- and four-year-olds) did not seem to have acquired the polar adjectives "same" versus "different," they did use expressions such as "the same" and "not the same." For this reason, the terms used in the Stanford-Binet directions were adopted to test all same/different discriminations in the other subtasks of Task I.

Most of the children were able to discriminate the items of the Stanford-Binet with ease. The criterion given in the actual standardized intelligence scale for a child of five is 9+. This sets the standardized norm at nine correct answers or better for a five-year-old. The ability to perceive sameness and difference is obviously a developmental one and varies with the age and maturity of the child.

Table 3 indicates that there were significant differences between the scores of each age group within samples as well as between the samples themselves. There were also significant differences in sex cohorts, with the females scoring higher than the males in both samples.

The importance of the Stanford-Binet subtask with regard to percentage of accuracy of response is that it demonstrated that overall, children in our study could discriminate between same and different on the concrete level of pictures with 90 percent accuracy (even though there were gross differences between the three- and four-year-olds in the two samples). It also established the fact that there was significant variation between samples and age groups with regard to this type of discrimination ability. While it cannot be said with assurance that this ability transfers to the level of language, one can make some impressionistic statements regarding trends of performance on this subtask and the other discrimination subtasks in Task I that involve language.

Generally, it appeared that children who achieved a perfect score (10) on the Stanford-Binet might or might not be able to transfer this discrimination ability to the level of language. On the other hand, children who had a great deal of trouble with the Stanford-Binet and scored only a 5 or 6 on it would in most cases not be able to perform the linguistic discriminations involved in the other subtasks in Task I and would respond randomly to them.

TABLE 3.--Accuracy on Tasks I, II, and total test; Significant variation on Tasks I and II

Test	Percentage of Accuracy								
	Sample A				Sample B				Total
	3	4	5	Total	3	4	5	Total	Children
Stanford-Binet (Task I)	87	98	100	95	58	67	90	81	90
German-English "	71	89	98	86	59	57	79	72	81
Grammar "	47	56	83	62	33	36	44	41	55
Phonology "	46	52	67	55	29	41	41	40	50
Right/Wrong "	55	54	80	63	44	46	52	50	59
Categorization (Task II)	74	68	80	74	58	65	66	65	71
Total Test	64	69	85	73	47	52	62	58	68

	Significant Variation* for Tasks I & II										
	Sample A			Sample B			Total			Samples	Sex
	3	4	5	3	4	5	3	4	5	A and B	
Stanford-Binet (Task I)		+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+
German-English "		+	+		-	+		+	+	+	
Grammar "		-	+		-	+		-	+	+	
Phonology "		-	+		+	-		+	-	+	
Right/Wrong "		-	+		-	+		-	+	+	
Categorization (Task II)		-	+		+	-		-	-	+	+ (Sample B only)

Note: Unless otherwise indicated, results stated as statistically significant are significant at the .05 level of confidence.

*(+) indicates significant variation between cohorts; (-) indicates no significant variation between cohorts.

The German-English Subtask

While the Stanford-Binet dealt with perceptions of sameness and difference on the concrete level of pictures, the German-English subtask introduced these perceptions on the more abstract level of language.

Figure 1 illustrates the directions and the seven sentence pairs used in this subtask. These sentences were prerecorded by a female bilingual speaker of German and English. The sentence pairs were devised under the assumption that German sentences which were cognate with English ("It is cold/Es ist kalt") would be more difficult for the children to discriminate from English than German sentences which sounded very different from English ("Where are you going?/Wohin fahren Sie?"). This hypothesis was not supported. However, the children achieved the highest scores on those items in which both sentences were the same and in English, and the second highest scores on the item in which both sentences were the same and in German. This was also found in later subtasks, namely, that children do better at recognizing sameness between two sentences than in recognizing differences.

Directions

Interviewer: Now let's play a game with a friend of mine on this tape (pointing to cassette tape). Her name is Louise. She is going to say some things to you. Sometimes the two things will sound just alike, just the very same, like this (play Example A). Those sound just the same, right? Sometimes the two things will not sound the same, like this (play Example B). Those don't sound the same at all, right? Good. Now let's listen to Louise, and you tell me each time if the two things sound the very same or if they don't sound the same. O.K.?

Cue Question: (after each pair) Did those two sound the same?

Examples

A. This is my car/
This is my car.

B. This is my car/
Das ist mein Auto.

Items

1. Wie heisst der Junge?/What's the boy's name?
2. It is cold/Es ist kalt.
3. Sometimes it snows in the winter/Sometimes it snows in the winter.
4. Das ist mein Bus/That is my bus.
5. I like to eat ice cream/I like to eat ice cream.
6. Where are you going?/Wohin fahren Sie?
7. Das ist mein bester Freund/Das ist mein bester Freund.

Fig. 1. The German-English test

In the German-English subtask, there was significant difference between Samples A and B as well as between age cohorts, as seen in Table 3 (p. 13). There was significant variation between the three-, four-, and five-year-olds in Sample A, but only between the four- and five-year-olds in Sample B. Furthermore, the largest increase in percentage of accuracy occurred between the three- and four-year-old levels in Sample A. (Compare an 18-point increase between the three- and four-year-old cohorts with an increase of only nine percentage points between the four- and five-year-olds in Sample A.) For Sample B, the largest increase occurred between the four- and five-year-old levels. This may be interpreted to mean that discrimination ability between two different languages develops between the ages of three and four for Sample A, but between the ages of four and five for Sample B.

The percentage of accuracy figures for this subtask also yielded interesting information regarding task difficulty. Accuracy for both samples decreased here (from 95 percent on the Stanford-Binet to 86 percent on the German-English for Sample A, and from 81 percent to 72 percent for Sample B). This pattern of descending accuracy was also seen in each of the age cohorts, with the exception of the Sample B three-year-olds, where an insignificant one-point percentage gain was noted. These figures substantiate the claim made earlier that discriminations involving the abstract level of language are more difficult than those on the concrete level of pictures.

The Grammar Subtask

The Grammar subtask was the first test of the ability to discriminate on the level of two varieties of the same language. In this subtask, nine prerecorded sentence pairs tested discriminations between four grammatical variables of BE and SE. The sentences, voiced by the black male bidialectal speaker mentioned earlier, varied only in terms of grammatical features. In a sense, these discriminations were more artificial than those in the previous subtasks or those in Tasks II and III, since the sentences here did not contain the additional cues which are available in more natural language situations.

The percentage of accuracy figures for this subtask (see Table 3) illustrate its increased difficulty level. All children in all age groups performed less accurately on this subtask than on the two subtasks which preceded it. The range in percentage of accuracy was from 33 percent (Sample B three-year-olds) to 83 percent (Sample A five-year-olds). Such lowered accuracy across the board provides further evidence for the statement that discriminations between two varieties of the same language are finer and more difficult than discriminations between two languages.

Table 3 also indicates significant variation between the two samples as well as between the four- and five-year-old cohorts in both samples. No significant difference was noted between the three- and four-year-old cohorts in either sample--further evidence that the ability to discriminate on the level of two varieties of the same language may occur developmentally in young children between the ages of four and five. Such was clearly the case in Sample A, where there was significant difference between the three- and four-year-olds on the Stanford-Binet and German-English subtasks, but not on the Grammar subtask (nor on the Phonology, where significant differences occured only between the four- and five-year-old groups).

An additional statistic reinforces this developmental pattern with regard to the different types of discrimination involved between the German-English and Grammar subtasks. The statistic chi square was used to test the significance of the relationship of the German-English subtask to the Grammar subtask. The two tests were significantly related at the .01 level for Sample A only; there was no statistically significant relationship between these two tests for Sample B. In Sample A, the distribution of both high and low scores on the German-English test was statistically related to the distribution of both high and low scores on the Grammar test. On the other hand, the performance of Sample B showed more randomness in the distribution of scores on the Grammar subtask than on the German-English subtask, showing that performance on the two subtasks was not related. The randomness of performance for Sample B was also clear from the percentages of accuracy, which fell below the level of chance. Although the performances of the two samples differed greatly in this task, which required controlled fine discriminations, they showed more similarities in Tasks II and III. It is thus possible to argue that the ability to make such fine discriminations of linguistic variables is not a prerequisite for categorization or the expression of attitudinal preferences.

A discussion of the actual items and variables involved in the Grammar test will illustrate the fineness of some of the discriminations. The linguistic variables for the Grammar test are listed below.

Possessive		Third Person Pronoun plus Copula	
BE	John(Ø) coat	BE	She(Ø) nice
SE	John('s) coat	SE	She('s) nice
Third Person Singular		**Negation**	
BE	Mary walk(Ø)	BE	They didn't do nothing (multiple)
SE	Mary walk(s)	SE	They didn't do anything (singular)

The choice of features was based on their characteristic use in BE as well as the ease with which they could be illustrated and combined in short, simple sentences.[5]

Figure 2 illustrates the directions and items for the Grammar test. The number of variables in each pair is indicated by a corresponding number of asterisks.

The purpose of choosing four different variables and combining them quantitatively into sentences was to determine whether the number of variables in the sentence would influence the children's "same/different" discrimination responses. It was assumed that all children would more easily discriminate between two sentences with four variables than two sentences with three or two variables. It was also assumed that item difficulty would increase with fewer variables between the pairs. Thus, those sentences with only one variable were predicted to be the most difficult.

This assumption was only partially supported by the results of the Grammar test. Quantity of variables did affect the children's ability to discriminate, with more variables generally being easier to discriminate than fewer. However, it was found that the specifics of a variable superceded quantity.

Directions

Interviewer: Now let's play a game with another friend of mine. His name is Jimmy. He's going to say two things each time. The things will mean the same thing, but we don't care what they mean. We just care about how they sound. Sometimes they'll sound the very same, like this (play Example A). And sometimes, they'll sound a teeny bit not the same, like this (play Example B). Now let's listen to Jimmy again. I bet that this time he'll say two things a teeny bit not the same (play Example C). They sound a teeny bit not the same, right? Now he'll say them just the very same (play Example D). Those sound the very same, right?

Cue Question: (after each pair) Did those two sound the same?

Examples

A. Nobody knows John's car is blue/Nobody knows John's car is blue.

B. Nobody knows John's car is blue/Nobody don't know John car blue.

C. Jane mother think he nice/Jane's mother thinks he's nice.

D. Jane mother think he nice/Jane mother think he nice.

Items

1. John's teacher knows he's bad/John teacher know he bad.***
2. He is big/He is big.
3. He go to school/He goes to school.*
4. Nobody don't know Mary coat new/Nobody knows Mary's coat is new.****
5. I like Larry's cousin/I like Larry cousin.*
6. He talk too much/He talk too much.
7. Diana mother happy/Diana's mother is happy.**
8. She's nice/She nice.*
9. They didn't do nothin/They didn't do anything.*

Fig. 2. The Grammar test. Asterisks indicate number of variables in items.

This point is illustrated in Table 4 (p. 18), which presents a ranking of the Grammar test items according to the percentage of children scoring each item correctly. The item receiving the highest percentage of correct responses was ranked 1. Item 9, with only one variable (type of negation) was ranked higher (and was discriminated more accurately) than items 4, 1, and 7, even though the latter items had multiple variables. It could be argued that the more stigmatized the variable, the more easily it can be discriminated. One could also argue that auditory perception of a whole word difference (nothing/anything) offers more cues than a segmental

TABLE 4.--Ranking of items in the Grammar and Phonology tests

Item	Total Children		Sample A		Sample B		3-Yr-Olds		4-Yr-Olds		5-Yr-Olds	
	Rank	Percent	Rank	Percent	Rank	Percent	Rank	Percent	Rank	Percent	Rank	Percent
Grammar												
2 (same)	1	83	1	87	1	76	2	78	2	75	1	92
6 (same)	2	80	2	82	1	76	1	81	1	80	3	80
4****	4	57	4	66	4	41	4	53	4	50	4	65
1***	5	52	5	57	3	43	4	53	5	45	5	57
7**	6	43	6	54	5	20	5	31	6	43	6	50
3*	8	33	9	40	5	20	6	19	9	28	7	45
5*	9	32	8	42	7	11	8	8	8	35	8	43
8*	7	40	7	51	6	17	7	14	7	38	5	57
9*	3	74	3	80	2	61	3	69	3	65	2	82
Phonology												
3 (same)	2	79	2	81	2	76	2	75	2	83	2	80
5 (same)	1	87	1	84	1	91	1	78	1	85	1	93
1***	4	40	4	61	4	28	4	42	3	48	4	57
2**	3	53	3	62	3	34	3	44	4	45	3	63
4*	5	34	5	44	7	13	6	19	5	40	5	38
6*	6	27	6	31	5	20	5	25	6	33	6	25
7*	7	18	7	19	6	15	7	14	7	13	7	23

Note: Ranking is based on percentage of subjects answering each item correctly. Asterisks indicate number of variables in items.

difference such as the occurrence or non-occurrence of the possessive allomorph in "Larry's cousin." Whatever argument is offered, the point remains that ability to discriminate may have more to do with the type of variable than with quantity of variables. Note, however, that even though item 9 ranked higher than items 4, 1, and 7, there was a descending order of accuracy among the latter three for most of the cohorts, offering partial support for the hypothesis that items with four variables would be easier to discriminate than those with three or two, respectively. Items 3, 5, and 8 with one variable each (although not a stigmatized variable as in item 9) ranked lower than those with multiple variables.

Another interesting aspect of the Grammar test was that all children identified the two items that were "sames" (items 2 and 6) most easily. These items ranked first and second for almost every cohort. This phenomenon also occured with the German-English items and reinforces the assertion that children recognize sameness earlier than they perceive difference.

The Phonology Subtask

Like the Grammar subtask, the Phonology subtask dealt with discrete linguistic discriminations on the level of two varieties of the same language. Turning to Table 3 (p. 13) once again, we see the descending percentage of accuracy from the Stanford-Binet, where the performances of all children were the highest, to the Phonology test, where the percentages of accuracy were generally the lowest. On the basis of these percentages of correct responses, we suggest that the Phonology test presented the most difficult, and therefore the finest, types of discrimination.

Table 3 also illustrates (with insignificant exceptions in Sample B) a rise in percentage of correct response concomitant with an increase in age. That is, despite the differences between the samples (and the diminishing percentage of accuracy for each test), all five-year-olds tended to do better than all four-year-olds, and the fours generally did better than the threes in all tests. Thus, the ability to perform these types of discriminations appeared to be developmentally based. This particular pattern of development was quite clear and stable for Sample A. For this group, acquiring the ability to make the discriminations of the grosser type measured by the Stanford-Binet and German-English tests seemed to occur between three and four years of age. The age level for acquiring the ability to make discriminations of the finer type involved in the Grammar and Phonology tests appeared to be between four and five. (The largest increase in percentage of accuracy figures for Sample A took place between the three- and four-year-olds on the Stanford-Binet and German-English subtasks. This increase was also matched by significant variation between age cohorts for these tests. The greatest increase in accuracy, matched by significance, on the Grammar and Phonology tests was noted between the four- and five-year-old groups in Sample A.) On the basis of the results obtained with the 90 children in Sample A, we can say that the developmental period for the ability to discriminate between two languages occurs between the ages of three and four, and the developmental period for the ability to discriminate between two varieties of the same language occurs between the ages of four and five.

The same developmental pattern did not apply to Sample B, and definitive statements cannot be made here because of the small number of three- and

four-year-olds in this sample. Generally, however, the largest percentage point increase in Sample B's scores occurred between the four- and five-year-olds (and was also matched by significance) for all subtasks except Phonology, where there was no increase at all between the scores of the four- and five-year-olds, but a significant 12 percent difference between the scores of the three- and four-year-olds. It is curious that the larger increase in accuracy occurred between the ages of three and four on the Phonology, but between the ages of four and five on the grosser types of discriminations. One might be tempted to suggest that the difference in percentage of correct responses was due to chance. However, a chi square for total Sample B as well as for Sample B five-year-olds revealed that the Grammar and Phonology test scores were significantly related at the .01 level of confidence. This tends to rule out randomness in the children's performance on these two tests. The dilemma in terms of developmental patterns of discrimination ability for Sample B cannot be solved here. It does, however, indicate a need to pursue such questions further.

With regard to comparisons between the results of the Phonology and Grammar tests for Sample A, there was a significant relationship at the .01 level of confidence between these two tests. The same was true for Sample B. Both score distributions showed age grading, with the fives in each group achieving the highest scores on both tests.

The relationship between the results of the Phonology and the German-English tests was also measured. A chi square here showed that this relationship was barely significant for Sample A and not significant for Sample B.

The Phonology test consisted of seven sentence pairs combining the following variables:

/θ/ Replacement

BE birfday /f/
SE birthday /θ/

Final /d/

BE she got ma? (glottalized devoiced final /d/)
SE she got mad (voiced final /d/)

Word-Final Cluster

BE desses (/s/ + stop is reduced to /s/ + plural marker /iz/)
SE desks (/s/ + stop + plural marker /s/)

The choice of these variables was based on their characteristic use in BE as well as the ease with which they could be combined in simple, short sentences.[6] The same assumptions made in the Grammar test about the quantity of features affecting children's linguistic discrimination ability were also made here.

Figure 3 lists the Phonology test directions and items. The items are presented in standard orthography for convenience, and the variables are underlined. The same conventions regarding asterisks as used in the Grammar test

Directions

Interviewer: Now let's play another game with Jimmy. He's going to say two things each time, like before, but this time you have to listen even harder than you did before. Sometimes the two things will sound the very same, like this (play Example A). And sometimes they'll sound a teeny, weeny bit not the same, like this (play Example B). Remember we don't care what the two things mean, we just care about how they sound. O.K.? Let's see you be a really great listener.

Cue Question: (after each pair) Did those two sound the same?

Examples A. Both ghosts were sad/Both ghosts were sad.

B. Both ghosts were sad/Bof ghosses were sa'.

Items

1. He ha'_ bof desses/He had both desks.***
2. Ghosts don't have teeth/Ghosses don't have teef.**
3. I like to take a baf/I like to take a baf.
4. On Halloween, kids wear masses/On Halloween, kids wear masks.*
5. There are three desks in the room/There are three desks in the room.
6. She got mad/She got ma'.*
7. There's noffin here/There's nothin here.*

Fig. 3. The Phonology test. Asterisks indicate number of variables in items.

are used here. Since the Phonology test directly followed the Grammar test during the interview session, much of the initial explanation of the task was not necessary.

Once again, the original assumption about quantity of variables affecting discrimination ability was only partially upheld. The two items with "sames" (items 3 and 5) were ranked highest (1) in terms of the percentage of correct responses of all children. Table 4 (p. 18) lists the percentage of correct responses and the respective rank for each item in the Phonology test.

Table 4 demonstrates that there was little difference in terms of correct responses between item 1 (three variables) and item 2 (two variables). Yet, these items containing two or three variables ranked higher for each cohort than items containing only one variable. The items containing only one variable of difference ranked among the lowest. One of these items, item 7, was the worst item in the study. It had no discriminating power for any group. This was due in part to the fact that the variable in this item--/f/ vs. /θ/--is extremely difficult to discriminate on tape, even for adults.

The relative relationships among the Phonology items are most pointedly illustrated by the percentages of accuracy for Sample A. On items 3 and 5 ("sames"), the children scored 81 percent and 84 percent, respectively. Items 1 and 2 (three and two variables) yielded scores of 61 percent and 62 percent. Items 4, 6, and 7 (one variable) were discriminated with only 44 percent, 31 percent, and 19 percent accuracy.

The Right-Wrong Subtask

The Right/Wrong subtask was the only subtask in Task I that was not strictly a measure of same/different discrimination ability. It cannot be considered an element in the continuum of types of discriminations. While this subtask involved fine discrimination of linguistic variables on the level of two varieties of language (which is why it was considered part of Task I), it went beyond that to require evaluative judgments on the part of the children. The Right/Wrong subtask was a subjective test. The pure discrimination subtasks such as the German-English, Grammar, and Phonology were objective in nature. No such claims were made for the Right/Wrong subtask. Its purpose was to determine whether young children make similar subjective evaluations based on discrimination of linguistic variables.

The Right/Wrong subtask was based on the assumption that preschool children have begun to develop judgments about what is "right" and what is "wrong" in terms of language. (For a discussion of the "monitor" theory as a theoretical framework within which to assess this type of ability, see Krashen, 1976.) It was also based on the assumption that this correctness concept is not overtly taught to children between the ages of three and six, but is learned as part of the socialization process. It was assumed that the preschoolers in our study would be in the process of developing their concepts of right and wrong in language and would evaluate BE as "wrong" and SE as "right," just as adults generally do. (See Labov, 1966; Tucker and Lambert, 1967; Shuy, Baratz and Wolfram, 1969.)

There were no examples in the directions of the Right/Wrong subtask. The purpose was to determine whether the children had already developed a concept of correctness similar to adults in that they might consider the BE sentences with stigmatized variables as "wrong" and the SE sentences as "right." This approach of allowing the subjects to apply their own standards of right and wrong to the test, and then determining whether these concepts correlate with adult notions of correct and incorrect, is known as a "projective technique."[7]

The directions and items for the Right/Wrong test appear in Figure 4. Items 1-8 on the Right/Wrong test correspond to Grammar test items 1, 4, 7, and 8, and are indicated accordingly. Items 9-12 correspond to Phonology test items 1 and 2 and are indicated accordingly. It should be noted here that the items in the Right/Wrong test were presented as single sentences, whereas in the Grammar and Phonology tests, they were, by necessity, presented in pairs. The Right/Wrong test required a slightly different type of task. In the Grammar and Phonology tests, in order for the children to discriminate same/different, they had to retain the auditory memory of the first sentence for comparison with the second. In the Right/Wrong task, memory was not as important a factor, since each sentence was presented individually, and the children had to recall only one sentence before making

Directions

Interviewer: Now let's listen to Jimmy again. He's going to say some things to you. You've heard some of them before. But this time tell me if he's saying it the right way to talk or the wrong way to talk.

Cue Question: (after each item) Did he say it the right way?

Items

1.	(G4)	Nobody don't know Mary coat new.****
2.	(G4)	Nobody knows Mary's coat is new.****
3.	(G1)	John's teacher knows he's bad.***
4.	(G1)	John teacher know he bad.***
5.	(G7)	Diana mother happy.**
6.	(G7)	Diana's mother is happy.**
7.	(G8)	She's nice.*
8.	(G8)	She nice.*
9.	(P1)	He had bof desses.***
10.	(P1)	He had both desks.***
11.	(P2)	Ghosts don't have teeth.**
12.	(P2)	Ghosses don't have teef.**

Fig. 4. The Right/Wrong test [illegible]dicates corresponding Grammar item; P indicates c[illegible]sponding Phonology item; asterisks indicate number of variables.

a judgment. The possibility that the Right/Wrong task type (single sentence) may simply have been less difficult than the Grammar and Phonology task type (sentence pairs) should be considered before making any comparisons between the two tests, especially with regard to tasks of discrimination versus tasks of discrimination plus evaluation.

Table 3 (p. 13) lists the percentages of accuracy and significant variations for the Right/Wrong test. A response was scored as "correct" if the child evaluated the BE items as "wrong" and the SE items as "right." Since the larger society perceives BE as wrong and SE as right, we wanted to determine if this socialization pattern was developed in young children. No approval of such evaluations is implied here, since linguistically, any variety is as valid as any other. The facts are, however, that such evaluations are, indeed, made by adults. "Accuracy" in this subtask, then, referred to the percentage of times the children made evaluations similar to adults in mainstream.

Generally, the younger children's responses to this test were random. There was significant variation between the four- and five-year-olds in

both samples, which leads us to believe that such concepts of right and wrong as we are investigating here begin developing between the ages of four and five years. While the fives appeared to make right/wrong evaluations significantly more often than the fours and threes in both samples, there was a significant and very striking difference between the five-year-olds in both groups. Sample A five-year-olds evaluated BE as "wrong" and SE as "right" 80 percent of the time, while Sample B fives did so only 52 percent of the time. There were also significant variations between the total samples. Although the performance of the Sample B five-year-olds appears random because they made such evaluations only 52 percent of the time, the fact that their responses were significantly different from the four-year-olds in the same sample leads us to conclude that such concepts of right and wrong might be in the process of developing at this age level in Sample B as well as in Sample A.

The younger children often responded to the "rightness" or "wrongness" of an item in terms of its semantics, which implied that they had not yet developed the evaluation of BE as wrong and SE as right. The following comment illustrates the point: (Item 11) "Wrong, cuz ghosses don't really have teeth" (Rachel (3:9). Such comments from the younger children were encouraging because--in contrast to the older children, particularly the Sample A five-year-olds--they indicated that there was no teaching effect involved in the testing and that they were applying their own standards of right and wrong (which is precisely the purpose for which this projective test was designed).

The results of the Right/Wrong test were compared with those of the corresponding sections of the Grammar and Phonology tests. The only significant relationship that showed up for Sample A was between the Grammar and the Right/Wrong subtasks (.01 level of confidence). There was no statistically significant relationship for Sample A between the Phonology and the Right/Wrong subtasks. In Sample B, there was no statistical significance for the relationship between either the Right/Wrong and the Grammar subtasks or the Right/Wrong and the Phonology subtasks.

A detailed comparison between performance on the Right/Wrong subtask and percentage of accuracy on the corresponding Grammar and Phonology items is presented in Table 5. It should be emphasized that the percentages on the Right/Wrong items refer to the percentage of times each cohort evaluated BE as "wrong" and SE as "right." The percentages for the Grammar and Phonology items refer to the percentage of times each cohort correctly perceived the item pairs listed here as different. For example, for Right/Wrong items 1 and 2, total Samples A and B evaluated the BE item (item 1) as "wrong" 61 percent of the time and the SE item (item 2) as "right" 63 percent of the time. However, they discriminated these two sentences in the corresponding Grammar pair (item G-4) only 57 percent of the time. Generally, for all cohorts, the percentages on the Grammar and Phonology items were lower than those on the Right/Wrong. The largest discrepancies of this nature occurred in total Sample B and in the younger cohorts.

The five-year-olds in Sample A illustrated a fairly strong relationship between their ability to discriminate the BE and SE variables in the Grammar test and their evaluations of BE as "wrong" and SE as "right." The strength of this relationship--illustrated in Table 5--is based on the percentages of accuracy for the corresponding Grammar items as well as by the highly

TABLE 5.--Comparison between evaluative identification of Right/Wrong items and discrimination of corresponding Grammar and Phonology items

(In percentages)

Right/Wrong and corresponding Grammar (G) items	Total Children	Sample A	Sample B	Total 3	Total 4	Total 5	A 5-Yr-Olds	B 5-Yr-Olds
1. Wrong (BE)	61	69	46	64	55	63	87	40
2. Right (SE)	63	66	54	56	50	77	93	60
G4. Different ****	57	66	41	53	50	65	83	47
3. Right (SE)	52	56	46	39	40	68	77	60
4. Wrong (BE)	61	64	54	61	55	65	83	47
G1. Different ***	52	57	43	53	45	57	73	40
5. Wrong (BE)	58	70	35	64	56	55	87	23
6. Right (SE)	65	67	61	50	55	80	87	73
G7. Different **	43	54	20	31	43	50	83	17
7. Right (SE)	68	72	59	50	55	87	93	80
8. Wrong (BE)	48	53	30	44	40	50	77	23
G8. Different *	40	51	17	14	38	57	90	23
Right/Wrong and corresponding Phonology (P) items								
9. Wrong (BE)	57	66	39	61	60	52	70	30
10. Right (SE)	67	66	70	53	60	80	80	80
P1. Different ***	50	61	28	42	48	57	83	30
11. Right (SE)	57	56	59	47	53	65	63	67
12. Wrong (BE)	49	51	46	53	48	48	53	43
P2. Different **	53	62	34	44	45	63	90	37

Note: "Different" indicates correct discrimination of corresponding Grammar or Phonology items; asterisks indicate number of variables in items.

significant relationship (at the .01 level of confidence) between these two tests for Sample A as a whole. For example, in items 7 and 8, the five-year-olds discriminated the difference in the Grammar pair 90 percent of the time, evaluated the BE sentence of this pair as "wrong" 77 percent of the time, and judged the SE sentence as "right" 93 percent of the time.

Table 5 also illustrates the interesting point that all the children tended to evaluate SE sentences as "right" more often than they did BE sentences as "wrong." This was most visible in the case of the two oldest groups. Yet, even though each cohort made the affirmative judgment concerning SE more often than it made the negative judgment about BE, there were some striking differences between groups.

Sample A five-year-olds judged BE as "wrong" a much greater percentage of the time than Sample B five-year-olds did. In items 7 and 8, for example, Sample A fives judged the SE sentence (item 7) as "right" 93 percent of the time and the BE sentence (item 8) as "wrong" only 77 percent of the time. Sample B fives also tended to consider the SE item as "right" with more frequency than they judged the BE item as "wrong." However, their corresponding percentages were 80 for the SE item as "right" and only 23 for the BE item as "wrong." This trend was generally maintained for all the Right/Wrong items with respect to the two cohorts.

The original assumptions of this subtask were upheld, especially by the performance of the Sample A five-year-olds. We can conclude, then, on the basis of these results, that age and group are significant factors in "right"/"wrong" evaluations of children.

III. TASK TWO: CATEGORIZATION

The Nature of the Task

The ability to categorize represents a different aspect of language awareness than does the ability to discriminate linguistic variables. The Categorization task in this study was defined as involving not only recognition of the differences between the two varieties of English, but also classification of the differences according to the socially conditioned, stereotyped judgment that BE speakers are black and SE speakers are white.

In the Categorization task, the discriminations required for recognizing the differences between the two varieties of English were less fine than in Task I. The speech stimuli here presented more cues for identifying the differences between BE and SE: SE was represented by male and female upper middle class white speakers, and BE was represented by male and female lower class black speakers (in contrast to Task I, where one bidialectal black speaker represented both varieties). The nature of the stimuli allowed for representative differences in intonation and vocal quality between speakers of the two varieties as further cues in the Categorization task. The stimuli here represented differences that occur in more natural speech styles.

In terms of the total Categorization test, 71 percent of the responses indicated that BE was spoken by a black and SE was spoken by a white, which is a considerably higher percentage than on the finer discrimination subtasks of Task I. Also, there were several children in both samples at all age levels who made such classifications seven or eight times out of eight on this task, but scored only two or three on the Grammar and Phonology discriminations. This suggests that the Categorization task itself was not dependent upon fine linguistic discrimination ability and that linguistic discriminations such as those required in the Grammar and Phonology subtasks were neither necessary nor sufficient for the types of categorizations made here.

Categorization, then, as an aspect of language awareness is different from linguistic discrimination and attitudes as aspects of language awareness. (The latter will be analyzed at length in Task III.) Categorizing the two varieties of English does not necessarily require an attitudinal response, although in some cases it may evoke one. The Categorization task did not elicit such responses from most of the children in the study. In some cases, however, the task (disguised as a guessing game) fortuitously produced accompanying expressions of attitude or racial preference that were not necessarily tied to the subjects' categorizations. That is, a child might have a particular racial preference, but still classify BE speakers as black and SE speakers as white. Many of the comments expressed deprecation toward BE speakers or toward blacks. Following are several remarks made by the children in Sample A relating to their guessing ability in the Categorization task (all children were told they were good guessers):

> I can always guess right, 'cause I have somebody in my class named Mark and he's black and I know how he talks (Alex 5:11).

> I'm a good guesser. I know 'cause the brown people talk worsers and the white people talk better (Melissa 4:9).
>
> I can always tell 'cause the browns talk yukky and the people talk nice (Jimmy 4:0).
>
> You know how come I can guess it all the time? The ones that talk too fast are the brown ones (Kim 5:2).

Other spontaneous expressions of attitudes will be discussed with reference to the specific items in the task. Not all are derogatory toward blacks, and not all are from Sample A.

Comments of the type above tend to suggest that the task of speech identification was tied to attitude. In order to isolate and measure the various aspects of language awareness, however, it was important to focus on the essential purpose of the task rather than on any accompanying reactions it may have generated. It was felt that the nature of the Categorization task was not intrinsically an attitudinal one, and the fact that only a few children produced such comments appears to support that claim.

Procedure

The children were instructed to listen to a one-and-one-half to two-minute speech sample. They were then shown a picture card and asked to point to the person who they thought was speaking on the tape. The children were given the following test directions:

> Now let's play a guess game. I'll bet you're really good at guessing games, right? I have some of my friends here on this tape (pointing to tape in cassette recorder). They're going to talk to you. Each time someone talks, I'll show you a picture of two people, like this (pointing to example card). You try to guess which one is talking on the tape. Point to the person that sounds like the person on the tape.
>
> Cue question: (after each item) Which one said that? Which one sounds like that?

There was no speech sample accompanying the example card. The purpose of this was to avoid producing any teaching effect by creating an association between race and speech. The example card was shown simply so that the children knew that the task was to choose a picture upon hearing some language stimulus. The choices were not associated for them. It should also be noted that although the picture stimuli were obviously pointing up racial differences, no mention of race was ever made by the interviewer. The speakers were simply referred to as "my friends."

The Speech Stimuli

There were eight prerecorded samples of spontaneous speech in narrative style in this test. The samples were selected with three criteria in mind: (1) the selection should illustrate at least two linguistic features

representative of each variety, (2) the selection should be culturally unmarked, and (3) the selection should involve topics and vocabulary familiar to small children. BE was represented in four samples by two 12-year-old lower class blacks, one boy and one girl. These speech samples were taken from the recordings of Fasold's subjects in his Washington dialect study of black English (Fasold, 1972). SE was represented by the author's children, a seven-year-old boy and a five-year-old girl. A modification of Lambert's matched guise technique was used here. Lambert's original method (Lambert et al., 1960) involved bilingual speakers reading a passage at one time in French and the English equivalent at another time. The idea of using bidialectal speakers in a guise was rejected here, because it was felt that it would eliminate the cue of vocal quality, which is one of the differences that exists between BE and SE speakers and a factor in the identification of BE speakers as black and SE speakers as white. The modification involved recording all speakers twice. The pictures for each speech sample were different, and it was assumed that the subjects were not aware of the guise. It was concluded that if the children identified, with approximately the same degree of accuracy, two items recorded by the same BE speaker, this would be a good indication that they were responding to the language stimuli and not simply to some variable in the pictures.

The Picture Stimuli

The pictures were presented on a series of eight 5" x 8" index cards, one card per speech stimulus. Each index card showed one white and one black child and did not require a sex choice. The order of boy/girl as well as the order of black figure/white figure was randomized. In order that the children would not relate to erroneous cues, the pictures on each card were as similar as possible and indicated only racial differences.

The Test Items

Each item in the Categorization test is presented below in terms of its speech stimulus, picture stimulus, and relevant comments or problems.

Item 1 (BE male speaker)

> He ain't yell at you or nothing. He nice. Like you make a mistake...like you talk or something...he'll ask you to be quiet. The other teacher they'll yell at you and everything.., and like you get, like you get all your work right, he'll tell you if you doing good work, but the other teacher, they won't tell you nothing.

Only two comments were made relative to item 1; however, they reflect totally different attitudes. Maria (Sample A, 5:8), reacting to the speech stimulus, said, "He talks too fast. I can't understand him." On the other hand, Diana (Sample B, 4:10) pointed to the black boy and said, "I like this one."

Fig. 5. Item 1 picture stimulus

Item 2 (BE female speaker)

> We, um, we take an go to the corner and ah, and um, somebody be up like up the street and we be down at the next corner and we s- and den dey say, like they call a person and they say, ah "Ruth take three baby step." Then they say, "Mother may I?" Then sometime she say, "No," she say, "Well."

This item seemed to elicit more comments than the others. Two children in Sample A thought this speaker was male. Also, while most children in Sample A, especially the younger ones, pointed to their picture choice to indicate their response, several children here labeled the speaker as "black." This item also seemed to evoke pejorative attitudes, including one such comment from Sample B.

> It's the black one. (Ellen, Sample A, 5:7)

> That's a black boy with black hair. (Roberta, Sample A, 3:8)

> I didn't understand him. He doesn't speak clearly. (John, Sample A, 5:10)

> I just look at the people and I can tell, 'cause brown people talk like that, you know. (Jenny, Sample A, 5:9)

> A ugly girl (pointing to black girl), a cute girl (pointing to white girl). (Bobby, Sample B, 3:5)

Fig. 6. Item 2 picture stimulus

Item 3 (SE female speaker)

> We come in school, we play, and then the teacher rings our bell. And that means clean up time. So then we clean up. And then, we...we go outside (laughs).

There was only one comment on this item. It was made by Maria (Sample A, 5:8). In item 1, Maria had commented, "He talks too fast. I can't understand him." Now, after having been exposed to two BE stimuli and having identified them both as black without ever using the word "black," Maria, upon hearing the SE stimulus, said, "Oh, I see, it either sounds like a blonde or a black." It is particularly interesting that Maria had not mentioned racial identification until she heard the SE stimulus.

Fig. 7. Item 3 picture stimulus

Item 4 (BE male speaker)

> She yell at you and make you get on line...like somebody get on line late, she give em a F. Somebody talk on line, when we get ready to go home, at 3 o'clock, when we get out, leave out the door, somebody say, see, somebody just say somebody say some else too smart 'till they get out the door, she give them another F.

Most of the comments here were related to the picture. Most of the boys in Sample A were either familiar with or had a GI Joe doll (the white one), and most of the boys in Sample B were either familiar with or had an Action Jackson doll (the black one). There were many comments in each sample such as "There's GI Joe" or "That's Action Jackson." The children related to these dolls and may have precategorized them by race. One particular comment here was interesting in that it seemed to separate attitude from categorization ability. John (Sample A, 5:10) said, "Action Jackson is cool, but I like GI Joe better." Nevertheless, he identified item 4 as black. This seemed to indicate that John was not just choosing the picture that he liked, but rather that he was basing his choice of the black doll on the speech stimulus.

Fig. 8. Item 4 picture stimulus

Item 5 (SE male speaker)

> Well, the first thing at school...is...we all do something together. And then, one group goes to...uh...spelling class and then when they come back we have sports. And then after sports, another group goes to spelling class, and then we have lunch. And after lunch, we have recess.

Here we had another clear example, this time in Sample B, of a child's basing her choice on the speech sample and categorizing it as to race, rather than simply responding to the pictures of the race that she identified with or preferred. Diana (Sample B, 4:10) pointed to the white boy

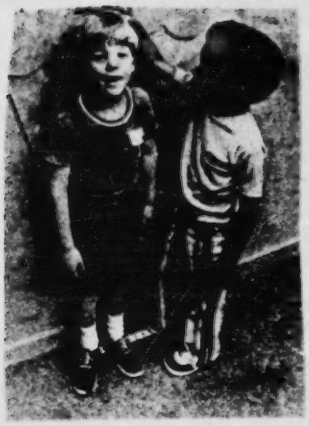

Fig. 9. Item 5 picture stimulus

and then added, "But I don't like this one." It was interesting to note that in item 1 Diana chose the black picture for the BE stimulus and added, "I like this one." Diana clearly had her racial preferences, yet on the Categorization task she, like John in item 4, seemed able to isolate attitude preferences from the categorization of BE as black and SE as white. In terms of Diana's particular racial preferences here, it was also interesting to observe that she was the older sister of Bobby (Sample B, 3:4) who responded disparagingly to the black girl in the picture stimulus in item 2.

Fig. 10. Item 6 picture stimulus

Item 6 (SE female speaker)

> My brother put a fish in front of my face and he waved it and I thought it was alive. And so I called my mommy and my mommy told him not to do it...and then...I wasn't scared anymore.

The only comment we had here was the antithesis to John and Diana's reactions to the speech samples (items 4 and 5) in the categorization of BE as black and SE as white. Christopher (Sample A, 3:10) was obviously basing his response on the picture alone, rather than on the speech stimulus. In response to item 6, Christopher chose the black girl and said, "I'm gonna pick her 'cause she's very cute."

Item 7 (SE male speaker)

> I didn't know how to skate, but then, I learned how to skate, and then I could skate without holding on to the rail. And then, I was skating with...without even going near the rail.

Angela (Sample B, 5:11) provided still another example of the pattern exhibited earlier by Diana and John. Angela performed the Categorization test with perfect "accuracy" in her categorization of BE speakers as black and SE speakers as white. Yet, while she expressed her preferences in her comment, she based her categorization on the speech sample: "He talk good, this the one...but I like him better."

Fig. 11. Item 7 picture stimulus

Item 8 (BE female speaker)

> We have to go through the cloakroom to get our coats and we stand in line in there and the teacher be in the hall and this girls always, we always have to sing a song in the morning time like ah, it be on the record player and she put it on there and when the teacher go out the room, the girl take and at 3

o'clock the bell ring, the girl take and ah, put the record on there and start playing and leave it running.

Fig. 12. Item 8 picture stimulus

It is curious that neither the picture stimulus nor the speech stimulus for item 8 evoked any comments.

In the discussion of the items, one other point should be mentioned. Since the speech samples varied in length, there was concern at the outset that this might be a factor in the children's categorization performance. However, in the pilot study, the children started pointing to the picture choice after having heard only one or two sentences of the speech stimulus. In fact, some children identified BE as black and SE as white after having heard only three or four words. In an effort to protect the reliability of the choice in the actual experiment, it was decided to present the speech stimulus first for each item, and then after the children had listened to at least two sentences, to present the picture stimulus. The cue question was asked at the end of the speech stimulus. However, some children still began pointing to the picture choice before the cue question was asked. It would be interesting in future research to determine the length of a sample necessary for accurate identification. The children may have been basing their categorizations upon certain linguistic variables that occurred early in the sample, or they may simply have been responding to vocal quality. Such determinations have not been made in this study.

Overall Results

The overall results of the Categorization task are much less informative than an individual analysis of the SE and BE stimuli data. In fact, the total test results mask some interesting similarities between the two samples as well as some curious developmental patterns, which will be dealt with later in the analysis of the speech stimuli.

Generally, the results of the total test indicated that the Categorization task was somewhat less difficult than the Grammar, Phonology and Right/Wrong subtasks of Task I. The subjects scored 71 percent accuracy on the Categorization test as compared with 55 percent, 50 percent, and 59 percent, respectively, on the three subtasks mentioned above. (A response on the Categorization test was considered accurate when BE was identified as spoken by a black or SE was identified as spoken by a white.)

The children's performance on the Categorization test as a whole is summarized in Table 3 (p. 13). There was significant variation between the two samples. Within Sample A, there was significant variation between the four- and five-year-old groups and within Sample B, significant variation occurred between the three- and four-year-old groups. Within Sample B, there was also significant variation between sex cohorts, with the males achieving 71 percent accuracy as compared to 59 percent for the females. This coincided with significance for sex within the age cohorts in Sample B, with the males doing significantly better than the females in the three- and five-year-old groups. In Sample A, there was no significant variation for sex.

The percentages of correct responses in the total test ranged from 58 percent (Sample B three-year-olds) to 80 percent (Sample A five-year-olds). Within Sample A, the three-year-olds achieved 74 percent accuracy, while a dip occurred at the four-year-old level (68 percent). This was the first instance in this study where no significant difference was found between the performances of the threes and fives in Sample A and where there was no major increase in accuracy concomitant with an increase in age for this sample.

One interesting aspect of the Categorization test related to the comparison between the performance of several children on this test and their performance on the Grammar and Phonology tests. In Sample B, Angeline (5:11) scored three questions correct out of nine on the Grammar test and two questions correct out of seven on the Phonology test, but on the Categorization test, she categorized BE as spoken by a black and SE as spoken by a white eight times out of eight. Tony (Sample B, 5:8) scored four on Grammar, two on Phonology, and seven on Categorization. Bobby (Sample B, 3:5) scored two on Grammar, two on Phonology, and seven on Categorization. Valerie (Sample A, 3:1) scored three on Grammar, two on Phonology, and seven on Categorization. Margaret (Sample A, 4:6) scored two, one, and seven on the three tests, respectively. The fact that these subjects were unable to discriminate specific features of BE and SE as measured by the Grammar and Phonology tests but could easily identify speakers as black or white in the Categorization test suggests that categorization may not be dependent upon fine linguistic discriminations, and that the types of discriminations in Task I may be irrelevant as cues necessary for the identification of speech by race.

Analysis of the BE Stimuli

The Categorization task revealed different findings for the BE stimuli as opposed to the SE stimuli with regard to the performances between samples and the developmental patterns within samples.

Table 6 presents the percentages of correct responses to both sets of stimuli for Samples A and B and for the age cohorts within each sample. The BE stimuli are listed as Questions 1, 2, 4, and 8. The column under BE stimuli labeled "Total Correct" refers to the children's choice of a black picture for each of the BE stimuli. Sample A made such responses with 78 percent accuracy; Sample B's responses were 71 percent correct. There were no significant differences between the two samples in their categorizations of the BE stimuli. The performance of each sample was nonrandom.[8]

The percentages in Table 6 indicate that the guise items were generally effective for both samples. Items 2 and 8 were voiced by the female BE speaker; items 1 and 4 were voiced by the male BE speaker. For Sample A, the difference in response to items 1 and 4 was only two percentage points (76 and 78, respectively). For Sample B, the difference was only four percentage points (74 and 70). The female guise, however, seemed slightly less effective for Sample B, with 76 percent accuracy for item 2 and 65 percent accuracy for item 8. This was in contrast to Sample A, where the female guise items elicited responses that were 81 percent and 78 percent accurate for these two items.

While there was no significant difference between the two samples in their categorizations of the BE stimuli, there appeared to be substantial differences in terms of their developmental patterns. In Sample B, the three-year-olds correctly identified the BE speakers 50 percent of the time, and the fours (80 percent) slightly surpassed the performance of the fives (73 percent). In Sample A, the percentage of correct responses increased with age. The three-year-olds' responses were 70 percent correct, the fours' performance was 73 percent correct, and the five-year-olds were significantly more accurate (92 percent).

TABLE 6.--Percentage of correct* responses to BE and SE stimuli in the Categorization test

Cohort	BE Stimuli					SE Stimuli				
	Question				Total	Question				Total
	1	2	4	8	Correct	3	5	6	7	Correct
Sample A										
5-year-olds	83	93	90	100	92	80	60	73	63	69
4-year-olds	70	73	80	67	73	77	60	73	63	68
3-year-olds	73	77	63	67	70	77	87	70	83	79
Total	76	81	78	78	78	78	69	72	70	72
Sample B										
5-year-olds	70	77	73	70	73	50	50	63	77	60
4-year-olds	100	90	70	60	80	40	50	60	50	50
3-year-olds	50	50	50	50	50	67	50	67	83	67
Total	74	76	70	65	71	50	50	63	72	59

*"Correct" indicates identifying BE as "black" and SE as "white."

Analysis of the Stimuli

Sample A's performance in response to the SE stimuli was not significantly different from its performance on the BE stimuli (72 percent and 78 percent, respectively). A chi square test, significant at the .01 level of confidence, showed that it was also statistically nonrandom. Sample B's performance, on the other hand, was random for the SE stimuli. The performance of Sample B in response to the SE stimuli was not only significantly different from the performance of Sample A (59 percent vs. 72 percent), but there was also a significant difference between Sample B's performance in response to the SE and to the BE stimuli (59 percent vs. 71 percent).[9]

Items 5 and 7 were voiced by the SE male speaker; items 3 and 6 were voiced by the SE female speaker. The guise appeared to be effective for Sample A, but not for Sample B. Items 5 and 7 particularly reflect the randomness of Sample B's performance in response to the SE stimuli.

The percentage of correct responses for the age cohorts in Sample A to the SE stimuli is quite curious. As seen in Table 6, the responses of the three-year-olds were 79 percent correct, those of the four-year-olds were 68 percent correct, and the responses of the five-year-olds were only 69 percent correct. There was no significant difference here between the performances of the three-year-olds and the five-year-olds. This pattern is quite different from the age-graded pattern of Sample A's responses to the BE stimuli, despite the fact that for Sample A as a whole, there was no significant difference between performances in response to the two sets of stimuli. For the five-year-old group, however, accuracy in response to the SE stimuli (69 percent) was significantly different from performance in response to the BE stimuli (92 percent).

In Sample B, the three-year-olds also surpassed the four- and five-year-olds in terms of accuracy. Table 6 shows the accuracy of their respective responses relative to the SE identifications as 67 percent, 50 percent and 60 percent. Although the performance of Sample B was statistically random and significantly different from that of Sample A on the SE stimuli, the percentages of correct responses show more similarity than would be expected, particularly between the five-year-olds in each group (60 percent for B fives, 69 percent for A fives).

Discussion

The Categorization task addressed the question of whether children categorize those people who speak a different variety of English with the same accuracy as they categorize those who speak their own variety.

Baratz (1969), in her study of speech identification, found that both black and white third and fifth graders identified with equal precision BE sentences as spoken by blacks. With regard to SE sentences, the white children identified them as spoken by a white slightly more often than the black children did. The results of the Categorization task in the present study are somewhat different; this may be due to the discrepancy in age of the subjects in the two studies. In the present study, while it was found that between Samples A and B there was no significant difference in the categorizations of BE, the performances of certain age cohorts appeared to be quite

different: the threes and fives in Sample A identified BE as black much more often than their BE-speaking counterparts did.

A comparison of the developmental patterns of both samples' categorizations of BE and SE is presented in Figure 13. The developmental patterns were quite different for the two samples as far as the BE stimuli were concerned, despite the fact that the total performances of the two samples were not significantly different. Sample A's pattern showed age grading, with a significant difference occurring between the four- and five-year-old cohorts. In Sample B, the largest increase (and significant difference) occurred between the three- and four-year-olds, with a sharp drop at the five-year-old level.

The developmental curves for the two samples' reactions to the SE stimuli appear similar, despite the fact that the total performances of Samples A and B were significantly different from each other and that Sample B's performance on the SE stimuli was statistically random. The following hypothesis is suggested for the developmental patterns exhibited in response to the SE stimuli. The three-year-olds in Sample A (even though they identified BE as spoken by a black with 70 percent accuracy) had a limited exposure to blacks, especially those who might speak SE, and since most of their language experience was with SE-speaking whites, identified SE as

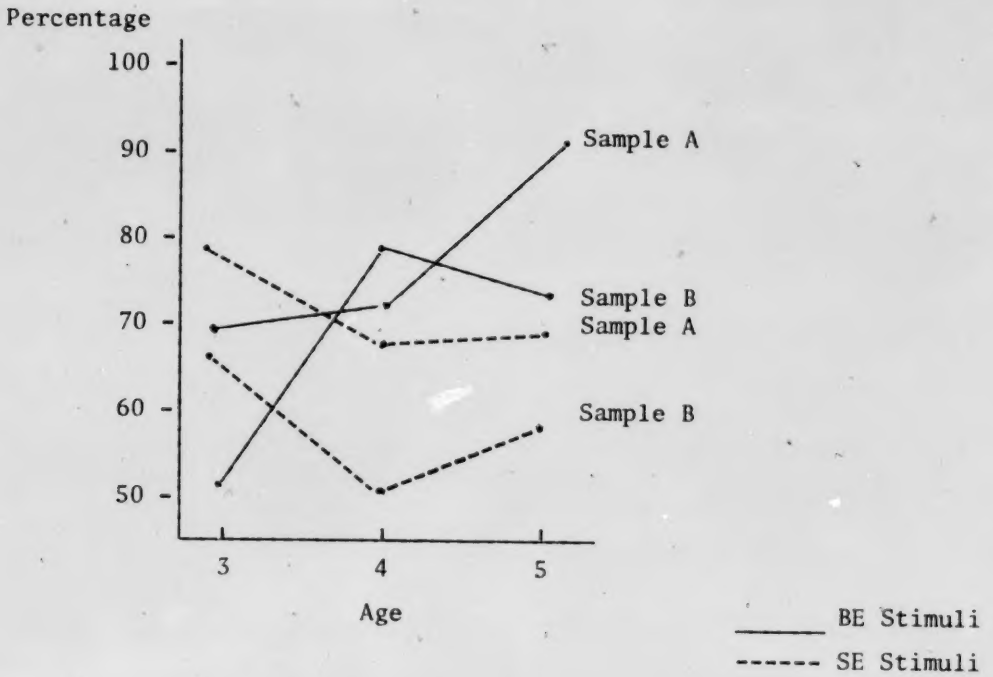

Fig. 13. Comparison of developmental patterns of Samples A and B for the categorization of BE and SE stimuli

white more often (79 percent correct) than the A four- and five-year-olds (68 and 69 percent, respectively). They appeared to have a one-track classification of SE as spoken by whites only. The fours and fives in Sample A appeared to be in the incipient stages of realizing that SE is in reality a two-track category, spoken by both blacks and whites. For these older children, the categorization of SE as spoken by whites was ambiguous and represented a real choice. In terms of the total socialization process for this sample, it is suggested that the two-track classification of SE narrows with age until adulthood, when the stereotyped image of only whites' speaking SE appears again. This was evidenced to some degree by an additional survey with a group of seven- and eight-year-old second graders, taken from the same population as Sample A, who identified SE as spoken by whites with 84 percent accuracy, as compared with 69 percent for the five-year-olds in Sample A. However, even these second graders seemed less sure of their categorizations of SE than of BE, which they identified with 100 percent accuracy.

This same hypothesis may be applied to the developmental pattern of SE categorizations in Sample B with some reservations. There were very few children in both the three- and four-year-old groups, and the performance of Sample B in response to the SE stimuli was statistically random. However, since Sample B's developmental pattern was so similar to that of Sample A, it suggests that the randomness of their categorizations of SE as spoken by whites may be interpreted as an even stronger indication of a two-track classification of SE. The children in Sample B as a whole may have had more contact with SE-speaking blacks than did Sample A, hence their overall difficulty in classifying SE as white. Another explanation may be offered for the fact that the B three-year-olds categorized SE as white more often than the fours and fives in their group did. The three-year-olds in Sample B spent most of their time in the classroom with only SE-speaking white teachers; their experience with SE-speaking blacks was limited. The fours and fives, on the other hand, were less confined to their classrooms and had more contact with SE-speaking blacks, e.g., the center's director and visitors. Thus, the three-year-olds in Sample B were also operating under a one-track classification of SE as spoken by whites only, while the four- and five-year-olds, having more contact with SE-speaking blacks, were operating under a two-track classification of SE, similar in this case to their counterparts in Sample A.

This hypothesis, although it attempts to explain the curious similarities of developmental curves for the categorization of SE on the part of Samples A and B, does not account for the random categorization of BE by the three-year-olds in Sample B. Also, since parallel seven- and eight-year-old groups were not available for Sample B, no statements can be made about the socialization process of such categorizations for this sample. A sense of black pride and black awareness may not yet have developed in the young children in this sample. This is one area which obviously warrants further research.

IV. TASK THREE: ATTITUDE

While Task I dealt with discrete discriminations and Task II dealt with identification of speech according to race, Task III attempted to measure a third aspect of language awareness--language attitudes. The purpose of this final task was to determine whether preschool children have already become socialized to form certain value judgments and attitudes toward black English and standard English.

In order to test the children's language attitudes, it was necessary to develop a type of measurement appropriate for their developmental level. This seems obvious enough, but past research efforts had tested children's sociolinguistic perceptions using adult models. As a result, they often found that children couldn't perform the required tasks.[10] It is necessary for investigators to discriminate between what must be measured and the medium of measurement itself. It is conceivable that the social hierarchy of occupational status is simply not in the referent system of young children, but that they can still perceive socially stigmatized dialect features and can evaluate speech as better or worse. Only after measurements have been devised to which children can relate can the results of their performance be correlated with that of adults.

The Magic Boxes

With such an effort in mind, the "Magic Boxes" were constructed. These were two identical cardboard boxes which had whimsical red faces with blue ears and noses and were devoid of any racial references. The front and back views of the Magic Boxes are illustrated in Figures 14 and 15 (p. 42).

The children were told that these boxes talked (each box had a hidden cassette recorder on the bottom shelf in back). They were told that one Magic Box was named Kenneth and the other was named Steve. Personification of the boxes was considered important, since younger children tend to personify most inanimate objects.

The prerecorded cassettes were voiced by two 17-year-old males--Steve, who spoke standard English, and Kenneth, who spoke black English. The speech samples were not spontaneous, but were improvised from a script written by Steve and Kenneth. They did not translate each other's speech. They attempted to say the same thing semantically, but in a way characteristic of the particular variety they were representing. The two samples differed characteristically in pronunciation, intonation, and vocal quality as well as in syntax.

Procedure

The attitude task was conducted in two sections--a "Taking" subtest and a "Giving" subtest. The Taking subtest was presented to the subjects as the initial task in the entire study, and the Giving subtest was the final task. Each subtest consisted of a series of attitude questions designed to elicit evaluations and attitudes of personal preference toward the speakers of the two varieties of English. Each subtest also forced a

behavioral choice of taking a present from or giving one to one of the Magic Boxes.

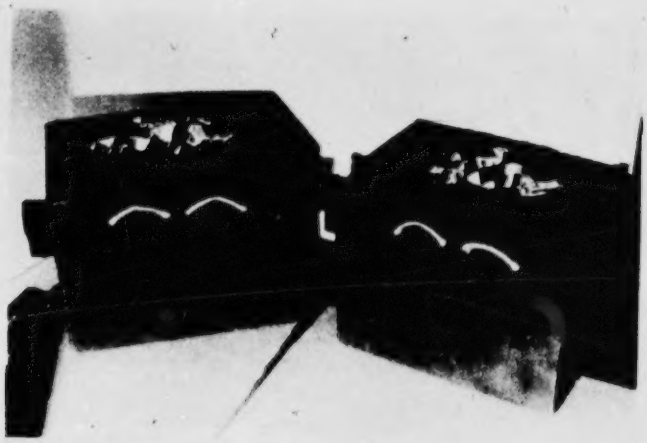

Fig. 14. The "Magic Boxes." Front view as seen by the children.

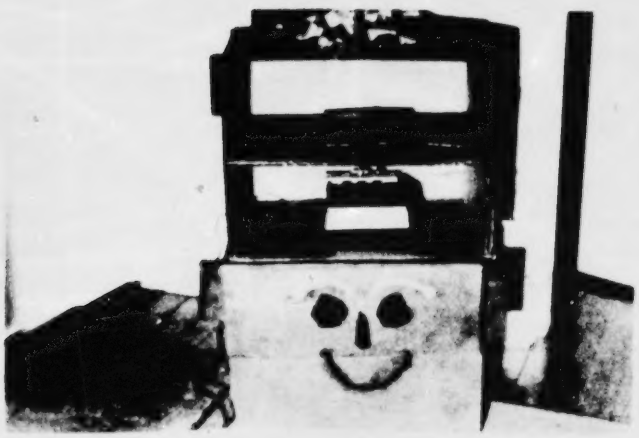

Fig. 15. The "Magic Boxes." Back view of the actual contents.

In the Taking subtest, it was explained to the children that both the Kenneth box and the Steve box had presents they wanted to give to the

children; that each Magic Box was going to tell them about its presents; that they were to listen to each Magic Box "talk" (the order of presentation was randomized); and that after answering some questions, they could take their present from the Magic Box of their choice. The presents were identical boxes of crayons placed on a shelf inside the Magic Boxes and could be obtained by reaching inside the box through a hole at the top. The children were not told what the presents were or that each box had the same presents. The directions, speech stimuli, and attitude questions for this subtest appear in Figure 16.

Directions

Interviewer: Do you see these funny boxes? Do you know what they do? They talk and they have presents. This box is Kenneth (or Steve) and this box is Steve (or Kenneth). Kenneth has a present he wants to give you, and Steve has a present he wants to give you. But you only get to pick your present from one of the boxes. Let's listen to them talk now and then you can decide which one you want to take your present from.

Speech Stimuli

Kenneth: Hi. My name Kenneth. I go school in Washington. I got nice present. You'll like this a lot. It nice and fun to play with. Bet you can't guess what it is. I give you a clue. It got about five color. You ain't never got a present like this before. You play with it a long time. My friend, he got one. He play with it all the time. He like it a whole lot. You gonna take this present, ain't ya?

Steve: Hi. My name is Steve. I go to school here in Washington. I have a very nice present for you. It's really fun to play with. In fact, I'd bet that no one has ever given you a present this nice. Can you guess what it is? Here, I'll give you some clues. It has about five colors and it will last you for a long time. My friend has one. He plays with it all the time. He likes it a lot. You're going to take this present, aren't you?

Attitude Questions

Interviewer: Which box has nicer presents?
Which box sounds nicer?
Which box talks better?
Which box do you like better?
Which box do you want to take your present from?
Why did you pick him?

Fig. 16. The Taking subtest

In the Giving subtest, the children were presented with two small pads of paper and were told that one was for them to keep and that one was for them to give to the Magic Box of their choice. Again, they listened to each box

talk (this time Steve and Kenneth telling why they wanted the present), responded to another set of attitude questions, and made the behavioral response of handing the pad of paper to one of the Magic Boxes. Figure 17 presents the directions, speech stimuli, and attitude questions for the Giving subtest.

Directions

Interviewer: I have a surprise for you now. It's a pad of paper to use with your crayons. I have one for you to keep and one for you to give to the Magic Boxes. But you know what? They both want it. Let's listen to them and you think about which box you're going to give this other pad of paper to.

Speech Stimuli

Kenneth: Ain't you gon give me the paper? My sister, she'd like to have it. She real good drawer. If you give me the paper, my sister, she be real happy.

Steve: Aren't you going to give me the paper? My sister would like to have it. She's very good at drawing. If you give me the paper, my sister would be really happy.

Attitude Questions

Interviewer: Which box wants it more?
Which box needs it more?
Which box sounds nicer?
Which box do you want to give it to?
Why did you pick him?

Fig. 17. The Giving subtest

Analysis of the Attitude Questions

The results of the attitude questions in both the Taking and Giving subtests are listed in Table 7 in terms of the percentage of children who chose Steve. (The question "Why did you pick him?" is excluded here and will be discussed later in terms of attitudes expressed anecdotally.) The questions were broadly characterized as those which were directed toward evaluation of socioeconomic status and need or linguistic status (Questions 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, and 9) and those which were directed toward personal preference (Questions 2, 4, and 8).

Questions 2 and 8 were the same and were included in each subtest as a reliability check. (Initially, Questions 2 and 8 were intended to elicit evaluations of linguistic status. However, during pilot testing, it became clear that many of the children were interpreting "Which box sounds nicer?" to mean "Which box do you think is nicer?" rather than "Whose speech sounds nicer?" Thus, Questions 2 and 8 were considered expressions of personal

TABLE 7.--Percentage of children choosing Steve (the SE speaker) in response to the attitude questions

	Question	Total Children	Samples A	Samples B	3-Yr-Olds A	3-Yr-Olds B	4-Yr-Olds A	4-Yr-Olds B	5-Yr-Olds A	5-Yr-Olds B
✔ 1.	Which box has nicer presents?	73	72	74	77	83	63	70	77	73
—2.	Which box sounds nicer? (in Taking subtest)	64	64	65	70	67	53	60	70	67
✔ 3.	Which box talks better?	79	82	74	87	100	73	50	87	77
—4.	Which box do you like better?	66	72	54	77	50	63	60	77	53
✔ 5.	Which box do you want to take your present from?	68	76	54	80	33	67	50	80	60
✔ 6.	Which box wants it more?	55	57	52	50	83	57	60	63	43
✔ 7.	Which box needs it more?	40	42	37	47	33	33	50	47	30
—8.	Which box sounds nicer? (in Giving subtest)	62	60	65	67	67	50	70	63	63
✔ 9.	Which box do you want to give it to?	57	57	57	60	50	47	70	63	53

Note: Checkmarks indicate questions directed toward the children's awareness of economic status and need or linguistic status; dashes indicate questions directed toward the children's expression of personal preference.

preference, and Question 3 was constructed--on the basis of the children's comments--to elicit evaluations of linguistic status).

The percentages in Table 7 indicate that Question 3 received the highest total percentage of the choices for Steve ("Which box talks better?"). Here, 79 percent of all children felt that Steve, the SE speaker, talked better than Kenneth, the BE speaker. It is interesting to note that Question 1 ("Which box has nicer presents?") received a total response of 73 percent for Steve. Samples A and B were in close agreement on both of these evaluations: 82 percent of Sample A and 74 percent of Sample B thought that Steve talked better, while 72 percent of Sample A and 74 percent of Sample B associated nicer presents with Steve.

This agreement is striking, particularly in view of the fact that there was a significant difference between the two samples in their personal prefer-

ence for Steve (72 percent of Sample A liked Steve better, while only 54 percent of Sample B liked Steve better). Personal preference here obviously also affected the behavioral choice of taking the present. Only 54 percent of Sample B actually took their present from Steve. This was significantly different from Sample A, where 76 percent took their present from him.

The areas of agreement and disagreement between the two groups reflect a certain tension between the categories of socioeconomic status and linguistic evaluation as opposed to personal preference. For example, despite the fact that 74 percent of Sample B evaluated the SE speaker as having higher socioeconomic status (nicer presents), only 54 percent actually took their present from Steve. This appears to reflect the fact that their personal preference for Steve was not very strong and was in conflict with their evaluation of Steve as having nicer presents. Also, despite the fact that 74 percent of the children in Sample B thought Steve talked better, it was clear that this did not make them like him any better.

In answer to Question 7 ("Which box needs it more?"), both samples were in close agreement in their evaluations of the BE speaker as being more needy. Fifty-eight percent of Sample A and 63 percent of Sample B (bear in mind that the percentages in Table 7 reflect the choice in terms of Steve) felt that Kenneth needed the pad of paper more than Steve did. Yet 57 percent of both samples finally gave their presents to Steve. This behavioral choice indicates a conflict between categories, particularly for Sample A, where 72 percent of the children liked Steve better, but only 57 percent of them actually gave their presents to him. Their choice appears to have been affected by their socioeconomic evaluation of Kenneth as being more needy.

Somewhat confounding results are illustrated in Table 7 for the four-year-olds in both samples. In Sample A, the five-year-olds seemed to favor Steve to approximately the same degree that the three-year-olds did in almost all the questions. The Sample A four-year-olds, however, tended to favor Steve 13 to 17 percentage points less in every question, with the exception of Question 6. And, indeed, in Question 9, they not only favored Steve less, but 53 percent of them wanted to give their present to Kenneth. This was the only age cohort in which the majority wanted to give their present to Kenneth.

In Sample B, the position of the four-year-olds was somewhat more ambiguous with regard to their choices of Steve or Kenneth. In Questions 1 and 2, they favored Steve slightly less than the threes and fives in the same sample, while in Question 4, they appeared to like Steve slightly more than the threes and fives did. Yet only 50 percent took their present from Steve. In Question 3, where 74 percent of Sample B as a whole appeared to think that Steve talked better, the four-year-olds split fifty-fifty. Their position as to who needed it more (Question 7) was also ambiguous, although 70 percent gave their present to Steve.

It is difficult to say definitively what was happening with the four-year-olds. The four-year-old cohort in Sample B comprised only ten children, and their ambiguity may have been an artifact of the small sample. While there were more fours in Sample A (30), there was a particular situation within the school that may explain their tendency to favor Steve less. There were two lower middle class black boys in the preschool who were almost six (they were not included in the study). Many of the boys in the four-year-old

group emulated them, since they were older, bigger, and could do more things well than most of the four-year-old boys. The Sample A fours, then, might have associated Kenneth with the two black boys in the group and hence tended to respond more favorably to Kenneth.

Another possible explanation of the inconclusive data for the four-year-olds in both samples is that this group was going through a transitional stage in the formation of attitudes, and their differences from the threes and fives simply represented a normal dip often encountered in the learning process. (See Haggerty and Bowen, 1973.) This type of dip at the four-year-old level was also reflected in the Categorization task in the children's identifications of the SE stimuli. It is interesting to note that in Sample A the difference in the mean score on the total test was greater between four- and five-year-olds than between five-year-olds and adults. More research may be needed here to determine whether the four-year-old level does represent a transitional stage in the development of language awareness.

With regard to sex differences, the nine attitude questions yielded some interesting, though inconclusive, evidence. Table 8 (p. 48) illustrates the responses to the questions for males and females in each sample. According to the percentages, the females appeared to identify with speakers of their own race more often than the males did. Sample A females favored Steve more in every question than Sample A males did. In Sample B, the males tended to choose Steve to a much greater extent than the females did. Even in Question 1, where both samples chose Steve by substantial majorities (72 percent for Sample A, 74 percent for Sample B), there were sex differences which were masked by the total percentages. In Sample A, 82 percent of the females thought Steve had nicer presents, compared with 62 percent of the males. In Sample B, the situation was almost the reverse, with 82 percent of the males choosing Steve and only 67 percent of the females choosing him.

For the behavioral choice of taking a present (Question 5), the females of Sample A still favored Steve by nine percentage points more than the males (80 percent to 71 percent). In Sample B, the choices by male and female were almost completely reversed, with 64 percent of the males choosing Steve and 54 percent of the females choosing Kenneth. A similar reversal occurred in Sample A for Question 9, the behavioral choice of giving a present. Here, 53 percent of the males gave their present to Kenneth, and 67 percent of the females favored Steve.

In Question 6 ("Which box wants it more?"), 51 percent of the males in Sample A favored Kenneth, but 64 percent of the females still chose Steve. Sixty-four percent of the males in Sample B selected Steve, but the majority of females (58 percent) still chose Kenneth.

The averages for all nine questions show that the females of Sample A were closer to the males of Sample B than to the males in their own sample in terms of their preference for Steve. An average of 72 percent of the females in Sample A favored Steve, while 65 percent of the males in Sample B selected Steve on all nine questions. In Sample A, only 58 percent of the males favored Steve and appeared closer to the Sample B females, who chose Steve only 54 percent on all nine questions.

TABLE 8.--Percentage of children (by majority) choosing Kenneth (K) or Steve (S) in response to the attitude questions

Question	Sample A						Sample B					
	Total		Males		Females		Total		Males		Females	
	K	S	K	S	K	S	K	S	K	S	K	S
1. Which box has nicer presents?		72		62		82		74		82		67
2. Which box sounds nicer? (in Taking subtask)		64		60		69		65		77		54
3. Which box talks better?		82		76		89		74		73		75
4. Which box do you like better?		72		69		76		54		55		54
5. Which box do you want to take your present from?		76		71		80		54		64	54	
6. Which box wants it more?		57	51			64		52		64	58	
7. Which box needs it more?	58		64		51		63		68		58	
8. Which box sounds nicer? (in Giving subtask)		60	51			71		65		77		54
9. Which box do you want to give it to?		57	53			67		57		59		54

It has generally been thought that females tend to be more conservative than males in terms of language attitudes and that they prefer the more formal language variants. However, the data here appear to indicate that such female conservatism is reflected not in a preference for formal variants, but rather in terms of a preference for their own variety. This is, however, only suggestive, since the sex differences were not found to be significant. The percentage data can only indicate possible trends and reveal an important area of interest for further research with larger sex-differentiated cohorts.

Attitudes Expressed Anecdotally

In addition to providing specific answers to the nine attitude questions discussed above, many of the children in both groups made spontaneous comments with reference to the behavioral choice of taking or giving a present. The attitudes expressed by the children--generally in answer to the ques-

tion "Why did you pick him?"--gave further evidence to support the claims made earlier that these preschool children have already formed attitudes toward black and standard English.

These attitudes were expressed anecdotally and are not quantified here. However, the comments are listed in Figure 18 (for the Taking subtest) and in Figure 19 (for the Giving subtest). In these remarks, the children referred to images and stereotypes that they associated with representative speakers of each of the dialects. These projections and associative attitudes, which they had obviously internalized, did not normally occur in response to the more controlled and comparative of the nine attitude questions. However, they proliferated in response to the open-ended question "Why did you pick him?" (The comments listed in Figures 18 and 19 are those of all children who responded to this question.)

Sample and Age	Child	Took Present from	Comment
B 5:8	Tony	Steve	I like him cause he sound nice (pointing to S). I don't like him (pointing to K).
B 5:2	Timothy	Steve	It better to take dat one (S) dan dat one (K), cause dat person dat take dat (S) is better off.
B 5:7	Deborah	Steve	Cause he talk better.
B 4:8	Marian	Kenneth	Cause he my friend and I wan take it from him.
A 5:11	Bobby	Steve	I can't understand K. I like his name, but I don't like the way he sounds, so I'll take my present from S.
A 5:8	Michael	Steve	I think he talks better and I like his face better.
A 5:6	Kenny	Steve	Cause he's bigger.
A 5:5	Brian	Kenneth	Cause he's bigger.
A 5:11	Jason	Kenneth	Cause K talks better. He talks cool.
A 5:2	Dave	Kenneth	Cause K is a black guy and I like black boys.
A 5:8	Maryellen	Steve	Cause S talks clearer.
A 5:6	Jessica	Steve	Cause S talks nicer and he looks better.
A 4:6	John	Steve	Cause S has more gentle talk.
A 4:4	Jeffrey	Steve	Cause I don't wanna take it from the girl (refers to K as the girl).
A 4:4	Amy	Kenneth	I think I want my present from K, if he doesn't bite.
A 3:3	Peter	Steve	K talks silly. My daddy doesn't talk like that.
A 3:3	Tammy	Steve	Cause S is good. K is so bad, cause he broke my Mickey Mouse.

Fig. 18. Reasons given for choosing Kenneth or Steve in the Taking subtest

Sample and Age	Child	Gave Present to	Comment
B 5:11	Charles	Steve	Cause S can draw better than K.
B 5:11	George	Steve	Cause he (S) sound like he want it.
B 5:2	Timothy	Steve	I like him the best.
B 5:10	Darla	Kenneth	Cause I like the way he (K) talk.
B 5:4	Rosalie	Steve	He (S) talk more better. I like the way he talk to me.
B 5:4	Delores	Kenneth	Steve talk better but I want to give it to Kenny.
B 4:11	William	Steve	I like him (S); dat's why I pick him.
B 4:9	Karen	Steve	Cause S wanna play wif it.
A 5:10	John	Kenneth	He needs it cause he doesn't talk clearly, so he needs a pad to write it down. He better write than talk.
A 5:6	Kenny	Kenneth	Cause he wants it more.
A 5:5	Brian	Kenneth	Cause K doesn't have nothing.
A 5:5	Matt	Steve	Cause his sister (S) is very good at drawing.
A 5:11	Debbie	Kenneth	So he can practice drawing and get better.
A 5:9	Julie	Steve	Cause K was begging for it too much, and if you don't beg, you'll get it. If you do beg, you won't get it.
A 5:6	Jennifer	Steve	(After choosing S for all other questions) Since I said all those nice things about S, I really should give it to K. But I do think S is better.
A 5:5	Steffie	Steve	Cause his sister does very good pictures.
A 5:2	Ann	Steve	Cause I think S is more nicer.
A 4:11	Elliot	Kenneth	Cause his sister (K's) can't draw.
A 4:10	Seth	Steve	(When K says, "Ain't you gonna give me the paper?" Seth said, loudly, "No!")
A 4:1	Skipper	Steve	Well, K is bigger, S is littler. I want to give it to the littler one.
A 4:11	Tina	Steve	I like S, but I'm afraid of K.
A 4:9	Elizabeth	Kenneth	K asked for it nicer.
A 3:10	Sara	Kenneth	Well, K is a girl and S is a boy and I want to give it to the girl.

Fig. 19. Reasons given for choosing Kenneth or Steve in the Giving subtest

Looking at Figure 18, we find that some of the comments of Sample A related to the children's projections of the physical size or appearance of Kenneth or Steve. Kenny and Brian thought Kenneth was bigger. Michael liked Steve's face better, and Jessica thought Steve looked better. This is particularly interesting, since the boxes were identical in size, shape,

and physical appearance. Indeed, the only difference between the Magic Boxes was in the speech stimuli.

Other comments in Sample A expressed pejorative attitudes toward Kenneth. Peter felt that Kenneth talked "silly" and said his daddy didn't talk like that. Bobby said he couldn't understand Kenneth and didn't like the way he sounded. Amy was afraid Kenneth might bite, and Tammy thought Kenneth was bad and associated him with breaking her Mickey Mouse.

Some of these images coincide with racially stereotyped images in adult society such as identifying blacks as being characteristically bigger, harmful, or unintelligible and identifying whites as looking better or being more gentle (John). Indeed, they occur so often in adult society they are almost classically trite.

In Sample B, the children generally chose Steve because they liked his speech, or, in one poignant case (Timothy), the choice was based on an association of upward mobility with Steve. Timothy's comment, indicating that the person who takes the present from the SE-speaking box is better off, was dramatic evidence of the social awareness of language differences. This child, at age five, had already been socialized to think that "white is better" or that the road to higher socioeconomic status is paved with standard English.

In Figure 19 (the Giving subtest comments), the attitudes expressed toward the speakers of the two varieties were similar to those already voiced in the Taking subtest. In the Giving subtest, both speakers referred to the fact that their sister was good at drawing, but no mention was made of Steve or Kenneth's drawing ability. (See the speech stimuli in Figure 17.) Yet the children in both samples referred to the drawing ability of Steve or Steve's sister as better, and of Kenneth or Kenneth's sister as poorer (Sample B: Charles; Sample A: Matt, Debbie, Steffie, Elliot). This, too, looks like a projection of attitudes already socialized to stereotype ability for whites and nonability for blacks. The fact that some children made such associations consistently, in spite of the information presented in the speech stimuli, is further evidence that they were basing these attitudes on the speech variety being used and that they were evaluating the representative BE speaker in a pejorative way and the SE speaker in a positive manner.

Again, disparaging attitudes toward the BE speaker were clearly expressed in Sample A, particularly in such comments as John's "He needs it 'cause he doesn't talk clearly, so he needs a pad to write it down. He better write than talk," and Brian's "'Cause Kenneth doesn't have nothing." Tina expressed the stereotypical fear of the BE speaker: "I like Steve but I'm afraid of Kenneth," and Julie dispensed some mainstream cultural advice on the social taboo of begging: "'Cause Kenneth was begging for it too much, and if you don't beg, you'll get it. If you do beg, you won't get it."

The anecdotal attitudes reported here were consonant with those expressed in the specific attitude questions in terms of evaluation and personal preference. They also point out, however, that a selection of judgments and learned cultural stereotypes is fairly consistently associated with each speech variety. The speech samples were simply the stimuli for the projection of these attitudes.

Discussion

It is clear from these data that preschool children have already formed attitudes toward black and standard English. These attitudes are one manifestation of their awareness of the differences between BE and SE.

The two diverse samples--the upper middle class white children and the lower class black children--were in close agreement in their socioeconomic evaluations of the two dialects. They associated higher socioeconomic status with standard English in their evaluations of the SE speaker as having nicer presents. They associated lower socioeconomic status with BE in their evaluations of the BE speaker as being in greater need of a present. The two samples were also in agreement in their positive linguistic evaluations of the SE speaker as the one that "talked better."

On the other hand, the two samples differed significantly in their personal preference for the representative speakers of the two dialects. The black children preferred the BE speaker, and the white children preferred the SE speaker.

These data may be unsettling to many people who do not credit very young children with having such social perceptions of BE and SE. The question of how these attitudes develop may be even more unsettling.

One explanation of how this socialization occurs is that it is transmitted by adults. It is no secret that adults in our society make deprecatory and discriminatory judgments about speakers of BE and that they perceive SE as the prestige variety, associating it with higher socioeconomic status and with linguistic superiority. It has also been shown that adults have a set of stereotyped images of personality characteristics which is evoked by each dialect. This view infers that adults condition young children to regard SE as superior and BE as inferior. It is suggested that such conditioning takes place overtly in the school system where such attitudes are still expressed by many teachers. Such conditioning also occurs more subtly through the medium of television as well as through parental influence.

The assumption made in this case is that children have had no exposure to the "other" dialect nor to its speakers and, accordingly, have not developed attitudes of their own toward either. One question that this explanation raises is whether adults actually do articulate their attitudes about black English and standard English to three-, four-, and five-year-old children. Another question that it raises is whether presumably uninitiated children who have not experienced the dialect nor formed attitudes of their own are susceptible to such teaching by adults. Could adults transmit attitudes to a a child about a language or dialect if the child had no knowledge of or experience with that dialect and was not able to identify its speakers? It is difficult to see how any attitudes learned from others could be successfully and consistently applied to an unknown or unfamiliar entity.

In examining the data, William A. Stewart (personal conversation) suggests that the early socialization of such attitudes might well come from the children's own experience rather than through transmission from adults. Stewart points out that when Tammy (age 3:3, Sample A) says, "Kenneth is so bad, 'cause he broke my Mickey Mouse," she is obviously articulating an actual event in which a BE-speaking child very probably broke someone's

toy. She would, therefore, seem to be making inferences from that experience and associating it with the black English represented by Kenneth.

Stewart insists that one must deal with the plausibility of direct social experience's being one basis upon which linguistic attitudes are formed--a hypothesis that many sociolinguists seem reluctant to consider.

Whether one argues that these attitudes are transmitted by adults or are the result of direct experience by the child, the fact remains that they are there, and we must be cognizant of them.

V. SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

Summary

This study was concerned with the acquisition of social awareness of language differences in preschool children. It dealt particularly with their awareness of the differences between black and standard English (BE and SE). Awareness was defined as a type of sociolinguistic perception involving three related abilities: (1) discrimination (the ability to discriminate between the two varieties of English solely on the basis of linguistic variables), (2) categorization (the ability to categorize people according to race on the basis of their speech), and (3) attitude (the expression of attitudes and value judgments vis-a-vis representative speakers of each variety).

Three tasks were constructed to investigate the three aspects of language awareness delineated above. The effects of group, age, and sex on these aspects of language awareness were also examined. The children in the study were drawn from two contrasting populations. Sample A consisted of 90 upper middle class urban/suburban white children attending a private nursery school and a private day school kindergarten. Sample B comprised 46 lower class semi-rural black children in a public day care center and a public kindergarten.

Task I investigated the same/different discrimination ability of the subjects. The results of the subtasks of Task I indicated a continuum of types of discrimination from gross (on the concrete level of pictures) to fine (discriminations involving two varieties of the same language). This task also indicated, in the case of Sample A, that the ability to discriminate between languages develops between the ages of three and four, while discriminations between two varieties of the same language develop between the ages of four and five. Task I also provided evidence that by the age of five, children in Sample A evaluated SE sentences as "right" and BE sentences as "wrong" with surprising regularity.

Task II examined the children's categorizations of black English as spoken by blacks and standard English as spoken by whites. The Categorization task dealt with more natural language than did Task I, and it was suggested that categorization may not be dependent upon the fine linguistic discriminations tested in Task I. In the categorizations of BE, although there was no significant difference between the performances of the two samples, the three-year-olds and the five-year-olds in Sample A identified BE as black much more often than their BE-speaking peers in Sample B. The five-year-olds in Sample A made such categorizations an astonishingly high percent of the time (92 percent). The SE stimuli created a very different effect on the two samples. Here, although there was a significant difference between Samples A and B and the performance of Sample B was random, there were similar developmental patterns for both groups. The three-year-olds in each sample identified SE as spoken by whites more often than the four- and five-year-olds did. The hypothesis offered for this behavior was that the three-year-olds in both groups had a one-track classification of SE as spoken by whites, while the four- and five-year-olds were in the incipient stages of recognizing that SE is a two-track system spoken by both whites and blacks.

This two-track classification, however, narrows with age until adulthood, when the stereotyped one-track classification of SE as spoken by whites only reoccurs.

Task III specifically elicited the children's attitudes toward the two varieties of English. Its results indicated that preschoolers have already formed attitudes toward black and standard English. Both samples were in agreement in terms of their higher socioeconomic and linguistic evaluations of the SE speaker, but they differed significantly in their personal preferences. Sample B liked the SE speaker significantly less than Sample A did. Also, highly pejorative attitudes were expressed, particularly by Sample A, toward the BE speaker.

Implications

It is clear from the findings in this study that preschool children do discriminate, categorize, and express specific attitudes toward the two varieties of English, and that awareness of language differences is acquired during these early years. In all the tasks, age and group were the most significant variables affecting such awareness. Generally, sex differences were not significant.

The most extensive development of language awareness occurs between the ages of four and five, although its beginnings were measured as early as age three. This coincides with the period of basic mastery of syntax in the acquisition of language. It is suggested here that as children acquire the linguistic system of language, they are also acquiring sociolinguistic perceptions that are a part of the socialization process. Such perceptions involve the knowledge that different people speak in different ways, and one kind of speech is considered better than the other. This type of social awareness of language differences is, indeed, as much a part of children's communicative competence as is their knowledge of the social rules of when to use polite forms, when to speak, and when to be silent.

The fact that children acquire the various aspects of language awareness at such an early age has some interesting implications for educators. It suggests that it may not be necessary to teach language awareness to young children, and that instead, more time might be spent dealing specifically with the attitudes that children assign to the linguistic differences that they so easily discern.

We should not expect minority children to be proud of their own language simply because we tell them to. This would, in effect, contradict their own analysis of the sociolinguistic situation in our society. Black children have become socialized at a very early age to value SE and associate it with success.

The inference could also be made from this study that children (particularly Spanish-speaking) in bilingual situations have also been socialized to view SE as better, more correct, or more economically viable. To instruct them that they should have pride in their own language may have little effect upon their attitudes. It is also likely, based on the implications of this study, that bilingual children have developed pejorative attitudes toward their own minority language in direct proportion to the amount of negative reactions it has received from adults as well as from their SE-

speaking peers in mainstream culture. It would be interesting to replicate the model in this study for research in a bilingual situation.

In terms of teaching SE to blacks, the data suggest that some rethinking is necessary regarding the issue of motivation. Kenneth Johnson, in discussing some of the pedagogical problems involved, states that young blacks can't see the value of learning SE:

> It is especially difficult to motivate younger disadvantaged black children to learn standard English. Teachers can't point out the vocational, social, and academic advantages of learning standard English to these children. They just don't understand these advantages. As long as they remain in their segregated social environment (and couple this with their natural immaturity), they will not be motivated to learn standard English (1969:80).

The comment of Timothy (age 5:2 in Sample B) suggests that these advantages don't even need to be taught; they are already known. Timothy's comment in response to why he chose his present from the SE speaker indicates quite clearly that he has perceived and internalized the socioeconomic advantages of SE:

> Timothy: "It better to take dat one (Steve) dan dat one (Kenneth), 'cause dat person dat take dat (Steve) is better off."

Timothy, or the young black children Kenneth Johnson is referring to, may lack motivation to learn SE because of personal preference rather than because of not understanding the advantages of learning SE. Despite the fact that the young blacks in this study evaluated the SE speaker as "having nicer presents" and "talking better," they did not like him any better, nor did they want very much to take their presents from him. The data suggest that in any discussion of motivation in teaching SE, we must distinguish between sociolinguistic evaluations of standard English and attitudes of personal preference--just as the children do.

FOOTNOTES

1. Any generalization about the three- and four-year-olds in Sample B will have to be considered in light of the smaller size of these particular cohorts.

2. In Table 2, the mean years of schooling for Sample A are not as descriptive or as precise an indicator of the social class differences as degree types, which are indicated in the table. It is difficult to state with precision the number of years it takes to get a Ph.D. or to become a neurosurgeon. Thus, the means were calculated as follows: 16 years for a B.A., 19 years for an LL.B. or J.D., 20 years for a Ph.D., and 22 years for an M.D.

3. By recording each of his speakers twice--first speaking one language and then speaking another--Lambert increased the reliability of his study. In the present study, also in order to prevent random or arbitrary identification, each speaker was recorded twice, but using only one variety of the same language.

4. In this study, significance was calculated by means of a set of confidence intervals for the statistic t. (See Blaylock 1969:179.) The specific confidence interval for t need not be mentioned each time. The formula for calculating each confidence interval incorporates the value of t at the .05 level of confidence.

5. A more complete discussion of the rules governing the BE variables and their relation to SE rules is provided by Fasold and Wolfram, 1970; Wolfram and Fasold, 1974; and Labov, 1973.

6. A more complete discussion of the phonological rules governing these variables is found in Fasold and Wolfram (1970:43, 46, 50, 53).

7. See Anastasi (1962, Chapter 24) for a more complete discussion of the projective technique used in testing.

8. A chi square, significant at the .01 level of confidence, showed that when presented with a BE stimulus, both samples chose the black picture significantly more often than the white picture.

9. Difference in both cases was measured by chi square. The difference between the two samples on the SE stimuli was significant at the .01 level of confidence. The difference between Sample B's performances on the BE and SE stimuli was significant at the .05 level of confidence.

10. Labov (1966), in his Subjective Reaction test, analyzed subjects' evaluations of the occupational suitability of individuals based solely on their speech. The speech of the stimulus speakers to be judged represented the social stratification of five linguistic variables found in New York City English. The job hierarchy was designed to reflect the socioeconomic hierarchy and ranged from television personality to factory worker. Labov wrote, "In case respondents had some reservations on particular items [on the job scale], it was explained to everyone that the Index was to be

thought of as a continuous scale running from perfect speech at the top to terrible speech at the bottom..." (p. 410). The youngest children Labov used in his study were in the 8- to 15-year-old group but they did not do as well as the older age groups. In pointing this out, Labov stated that he had evidence to indicate that people below the age of 19 or 20 have not yet acquired full sensitivity to the socially significant dialect features of their community (p. 421).

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*ERIC/ECE is responsible for research documents on the social, psychological, physical, educational, and cultural development of children from the prenatal period through pre-adolescence (age 12). Theoretical and practical issues related to staff development, administration, curriculum, and parent/community factors affecting programs for children of this age group are also within the scope of the clearinghouse.